

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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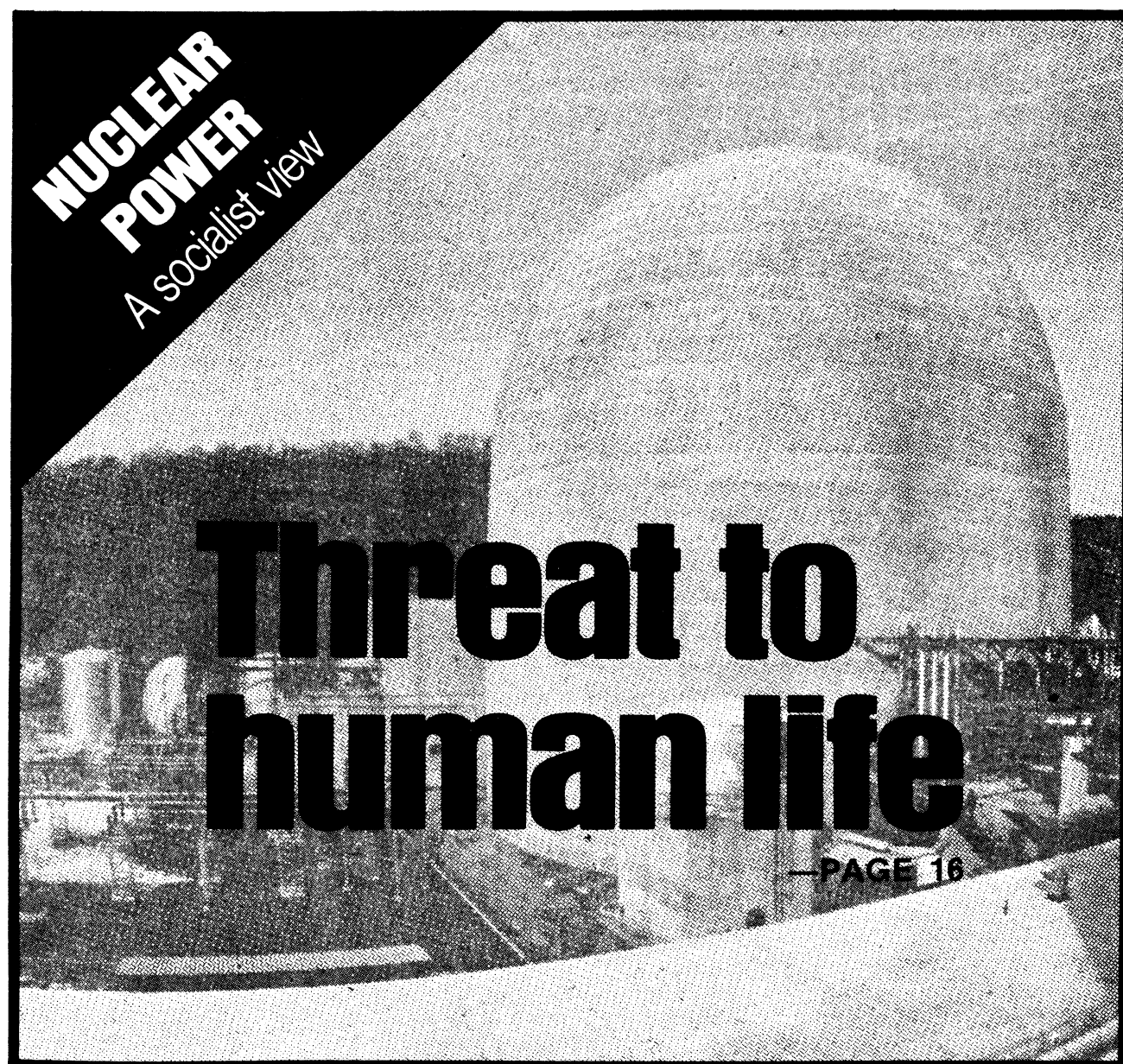
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DEATH PENALTY PROTEST: The Florida Citizens Against the Death Penalty held a picket line July 1 in Tallahassee to commemorate the first anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision allowing states to reinstitute capital punishment.

Of the more than eighty people on Florida's death row, 38 percent are Black.

'BAKKE' COMES TO NEW YORK: At least nine students who were rejected from a premedical program at City College of New York will get \$1,500 in compensation. The students, all white or Asian, claim that they were victimized by a CCNY program to admit more Blacks and Latinos.

Echoing a stock excuse used by opponents of special measures to win equality for Blacks and Latinos, the federal judge ruled that CCNY used "intentional racial discrimination" in rejecting the students.

The school has been ordered to admit four of the students next fall. Eight others have already won admission.

The ruling is similar to a California Supreme Court ruling—the *Bakke* decision—which held that a minority admissions program at a University of California campus was unconstitutional.

GAY RIGHTS CONFERENCE: "No more Miamis" and "Keep on marching" are the themes of a conference for gay rights supporters set for July 15-16 at New York's Columbia University. A July 5 steering-committee meeting of more than 125 activists in the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR) voted to focus the conference on organizing for an August 20 march on the United Nations and passage of Intro 540, a New York City homosexual rights bill.

The conference will begin Friday at 7:30 with a "Community Forum on Lesbian and Gay Rights" at McMillan Theater featuring nationally known lesbian and gay spokespeople, as well as representatives of feminist, Black, Puerto Rican, union, and civil liberties groups.

The conference will continue the next morning at 10:30 a.m. with a short plenary session followed by workshops on organizing the coalition's activities and topical discussions on gay oppression.

For more information, or to make contributions, contact: CLGR, 17 West Seventeenth Street, eighth floor, New York, New York 10011. Telephone (212) 675-2983.

NEWSPAPER UNIONS ON MERGER TRACK: The Newspaper Guild national convention voted July 1 to continue its merger moves with the International Typographical Union. The guild has about 33,000 members, organizing editorial and business workers. The ITU has 65,000 members.

The merger, which is also supported by the ITU officials, has been under discussion for three years. It would open up the possibility of organizing all the workers at a newspaper into a single, and much more powerful, union—a situation that now exists at only one paper in the country.

SKYHORSE-MOHAWK BENEFIT: An evening of entertainment will be presented in Pasadena, California, July 22, to help raise funds for the defense of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, American Indian Movement activists on trial in Los Angeles on a frame-up murder charge. Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass will speak.

For more on time, tickets, location, and program see the calendar on page 30.

HUEY NEWTON RETURNS: Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton returned to the United States July 3 after three years of forced exile in Cuba. A crowd of 500 people greeted him at the San Francisco airport. Newton was able to speak only briefly, before he was arrested and hustled away by police. He returned, he says, to fight a murder charge and other charges pending against him.

UNION BLOCKS URANIUM SHIPMENT: Australian dock workers refused to load a ship carrying uranium after police attacked a dockside anti-uranium demonstration July 3. The ship remained stranded in port.

The Australian government's plans to exploit the country's vast uranium resources have met with widespread opposition. Sections of the Australian labor movement have been mainstays of the environmental movement.

BELL 'RESPONDS' ON WILMINGTON TEN: Sixty members of Congress wrote to Attorney General Griffin Bell June 17, asking him to help free the Wilmington Ten, civil rights activists jailed in North Carolina for a crime they didn't commit.

Citing "the commitment of this administration to the protection and advocacy of human rights at home and abroad," the sixty signers called on the Justice Department to file a friend-of-the-court brief in federal court and in the

North Carolina Appeals Court and to ask Gov. James Hunt to free the ten.

Bell responded that the Justice Department was still studying the matter.

That apparently satisfied Rep. Don Edwards, the letter's initiator, who said he was "pleased and optimistic."

However, Imani Kazana, coordinator of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, was not happy. Noting that the case has been before Bell since February, she said, "We are looking for some decisions and concrete action, not further study."

CANCEL GAY RIGHTS RALLY: Pressure from city authorities in Palm Springs, California, forced the cancellation of a rally to answer Anita Bryant's antigay slanders, even though the rally had a city permit.

A gay rights group decided to avoid a confrontation with the city over its right to hold the rally for fear of reprisals against local gays.

The city claimed there was widespread opposition to the rally among local residents.

HOUSE LIMITS GOV'T LEGAL AID: The House of Representatives voted June 27 to forbid the Legal Services Corporation, a federal agency, from acting on behalf of needy clients in gay rights or school desegregation cases.

Rep. Chalmers Wylie of Ohio argued that the corporation should stay out of school-busing cases, because it "should not be in this emotional issue on either side."

THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND: The widely read Paris daily paper *Le Monde*, in a June 22 article about *Roots*, quoted the *Militant's* favorable evaluation of the popular TV series. Also cited were *Time*, *New York Review of Books*, *Daily World*, and the *Guardian*.

'WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL': Deborah Lipp, a sophomore at Mountain Lakes High School in New Jersey, has filed suit against a state law requiring all students to stand during the daily recitation of the pledge of allegiance. Although students with "conscientious scruples" are not forced to recite the pledge, they must stand.

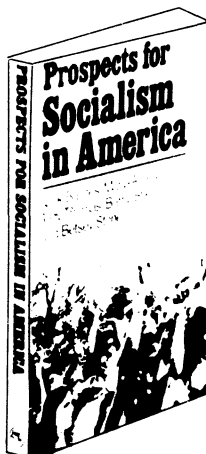
"If I'm only free to stand and not sit during the pledge," she said, "then I'm not free at all." Lipp says the law forcing her to stand denies the very liberty the pledge claims to favor.

In addition, she adds, liberty and justice for women, gays, minors, and "any minority group you can think of" don't exist.

—Arnold Weissberg

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Files show FBI helps shah's assassins

By Diane Wang

When the New York FBI agent wrote his report to headquarters last November 16, he marked it "Routine." And at the end, he put what may have seemed to him a routine bit of common knowledge: "Noted that Mansur Rafizadeh is the principal representative of SAVAK in the US and is a foreign liaison source of the NYO [New York FBI office]."

But that was not such "routine" knowledge, as the American Civil Liberties Union pointed out when it made the FBI memo public July 1. The November 16 memo confirms that SAVAK, Iran's notorious secret police, operates in this country and collaborates with the FBI.

The ACLU's client, Nasser Afshar, publisher of *Iran Free Press*, obtained the FBI memo through the Freedom of Information Act. The memo summarizes a telephone call from the ACLU to the FBI explaining that Afshar had evidence that SAVAK planned to assassinate him.

Particularly outrageous is the memo's date, November 16, 1976. That was only seven days after the State Department announced that it had found no evidence of "any illegal or improper activity" by the Iranian government inside the United States.

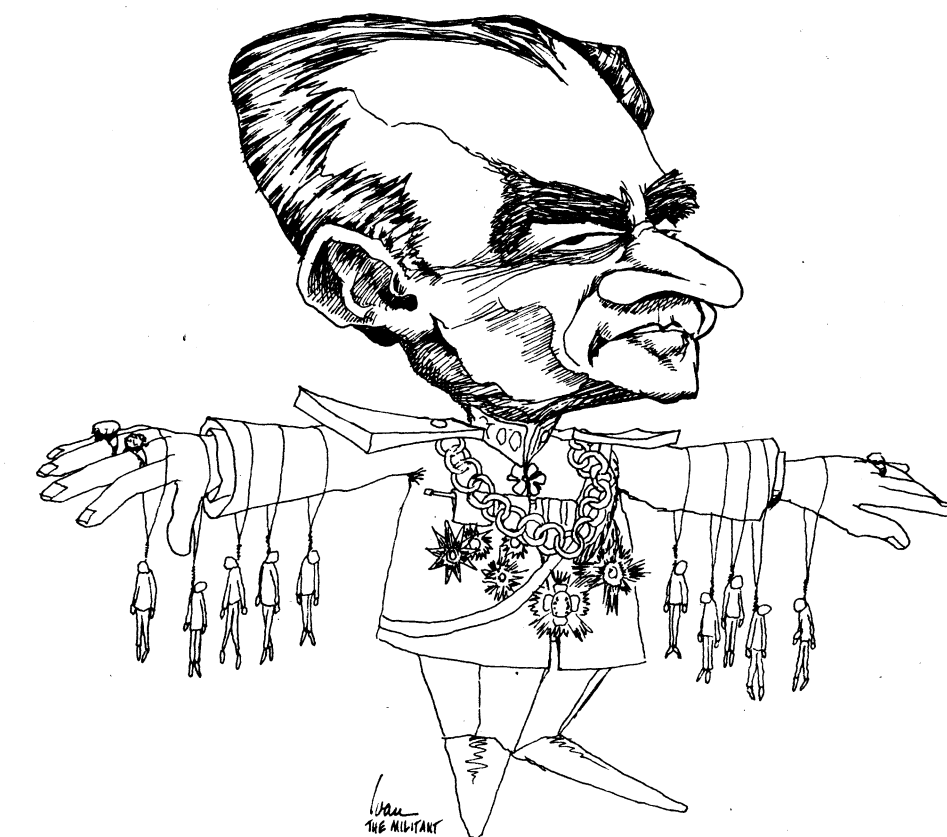
The State Department "investigation" had taken only two weeks. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had ordered the probe after the shah of Iran, interviewed on American TV in late October, admitted that SAVAK agents operate in the U.S.

The shah said SAVAK agents, with the consent of the U.S. government, were "checking up on anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country. . . ."

The State Department's two-week "investigation" was supposed to clear Washington's record and gloss over SAVAK's sinister activities.

The November 16 FBI memo proves that once again the U.S. government was lying.

The FBI memo is only the latest evidence of the SAVAK-CIA-FBI conspiracy to intimidate anti-shah dissi-



dents. Other government records have shown the lengths to which SAVAK goes to silence Iranians in the United States and Europe.

A 1973 memo from Richard Helms, former CIA director and then U.S. ambassador to Iran, reported a meeting with Iranian officials. Helms said the shah was asking that "we tidy up as much as possible anti-Shah elements in U.S."

According to Helms, U.S. officials had discussed Nasser Afshar with the Iranian officials and assured them that "we have been exploring with Washington for some time whether action could be taken against *Iran Free Press*, but without success so far."

Other evidence was secured by Iranian students and their lawyers who occupied an Iranian embassy in Geneva, Switzerland, last summer. The embassy's records showed that SAV-

AK had worked with Swiss and German officials to prevent anti-shah demonstrations.

One SAVAK memo referred to a fifty-eight-page list of Iranian students living outside Iran. The list had been sent to SAVAK agents in Italy, Turkey, Austria, West Germany, France, England, and the United States.

Other SAVAK records made public last October by columnist Jack Anderson showed that SAVAK uses burglaries, wiretaps, and forgeries in its operations against Iranian dissidents in the United States.

SAVAK's hit list

SAVAK's agents do not stop with those crimes. Last fall Reza Baraheni, an outspoken critic of the shah, publicized threats against his life.

Baraheni is a prominent poet who was imprisoned and tortured for 102 days in Iran. An international defense campaign organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran won his freedom.

In August Prof. Richard Cottom, an Iran specialist from the University of Pittsburgh, warned Baraheni that a reliable State Department source had said SAVAK was sending assassination teams to arrange "muggings" of Iranian dissidents.

Baraheni had already been threatened in Texas. And at San Jose State University last year, police told him they had uncovered a plot against his life there.

Other targets

SAVAK targets other, non-Iranian critics of the shah, too. The records publicized by Anderson last fall noted that SAVAK agents were to also watch the Arab student community.

The shah had said on TV that SAVAK checked on *anybody* he considered hostile. In Britain that included two members of parliament, who were targets of SAVAK surveillance because they had been critical of the shah.

U.S. complicity

President Carter's pious concern about human rights abroad seems to stop short of Iran. When Secretary of State Cyrus Vance went to Tehran last May he refused to criticize the shah.

The Carter administration does not want to jeopardize this country's relationship with the shah. Iran's reactionary regime is an outpost of

imperialism on the borders of the Soviet Union and a weapon against the Arab revolution in the Mideast.

Consequently, the shah is the biggest customer of U.S. weapons, having bought \$15 billion in arms over the past six years.

The shah has tried to strengthen those ties and improve his regime's image through sizable grants to U.S. universities, \$12 million in the past four years.

Human rights protests

Recent protests against such university complicity with the shah have scored some victories. Students and professors at Queens College in New York City forced college officials to suspend a secretly signed pact with Iran. The shah would have given \$100,000 to the school, under the guise of an Iranian studies program, to compile a list of Iranian students in the United States. The list, of course, would have been a convenient tool for SAVAK.

After receiving the new November 16 FBI document, Aryeh Neier and Jack Novik, executive director and national staff counsel for the ACLU, wrote Secretary of State Vance and Attorney General Griffin Bell. How many SAVAK agents are stationed in this country? they asked. What do they do? How do U.S. officials help them?

Protests against U.S. complicity with the shah and SAVAK are needed to help end the attacks against dissidents in this country and focus more attention on the brutal dictatorship in Iran.

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

Of the eleven prisoners CAIFI has championed in the last years, five have been released—thanks to the international pressure brought to bear on the shah's regime.

Currently CAIFI is campaigning on behalf of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a woman sociologist arrested in 1972, and Ghlom Hossein Saedi, a noted playwright not allowed to leave Iran.

CAIFI

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Open all the files!

Reza Baraheni, the exiled Iranian poet and dissident, was not surprised that the FBI has been working with the shah's SAVAK.

"I think that right from the beginning, since the 1953 CIA coup in Iran [which brought the shah to power], the American and Iranian intelligence agencies have cooperated in order to silence Iranian dissidents, both in the country and outside. In my mind there is no doubt that this cooperation has existed," Baraheni told the *Militant*.



BARAHENI

The poet recalled that FBI agents had questioned him twice about the threats against his life. "Their coming to my house was not really to protect me," he said. "I don't know for what purpose they would have come, other than to find out whether I knew some of the things that they knew already." Baraheni said that perhaps the FBI agents were trying to collect information for their SAVAK liaison, Mansur Rafizadeh.

Nasser Afshar, the Iranian publisher who obtained the November 16 FBI memo, has warned Baraheni that several Iranian dissidents are targeted in other files he has received.

"All the files should be opened," Baraheni said. "And all the names should be given out. And the extent of the cooperation between the FBI and the Iranian secret police should be laid open to the public."

Nemat Jazayeri, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, told the *Militant* that "SAVAK is definitely active in this country, carrying out illegal activities."

"This is directed not only against Iranians living in this country," he said, "but everyone opposing violations of human rights in Iran. This includes the civil rights of American citizens."

Jazayeri expressed hope that organizations such as the ACLU will take legal action to expose and stop the SAVAK operations here. "This will protect the rights of the Iranians who live in this country, who would like to publicize the violations of human and civil rights in Iran."

Results of Chicago strike votes

ENA puts damper on local steel talks

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—The recent results of strike-authorization votes at three major basic steel union locals in United Steelworkers District 31 have again demonstrated the erosion and restriction of the union's bargaining power under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA).

Local union leaderships at Republic Steel in Chicago and at Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube—both in East Chicago, Indiana—conducted the votes on June 21 and 22. The votes were in answer to the companies' refusal to move on scores of local contract issues at the plant level.

The national basic steel contract was signed April 9, but local unions negotiate and sign separate agreements on working conditions and other issues at the plant level.

The union leaderships in these three locals voted against ratification of the national contract. All were supporters of the insurgent Steelworkers Fight Back slate headed by Ed Sadlowski in the February union election.

The local leaders had hoped to secure additional leverage in the negotiations through strong, positive strike authorization votes. While they gained a two-to-one victory at Republic, they lost the vote at Youngstown, and narrowly won at Inland.

The 4,800-member Local 1033 at Republic Steel authorized a strike by a vote of 2,453 to 1,257 if the fifty-two local issues at the Chicago mill remain unsettled by the August 1 expiration date of the current three-year contract.

At the USWA's largest local, the 18,000-member Local 1010 at Inland Steel, members also approved the strike, but only by a margin of 845 votes out of the 14,543 cast.

At Youngstown Sheet and Tube, the major production and maintenance local—USWA Local 1011—approved the strike by thirty-one votes. However, the plant's clerical and plant-protection locals voted heavily against the strike authorization. Thus, under ENA rules, the strike authorization failed by a total vote of 2,886 to 2,713.

Three other locals had requested permission from the international union for an authorization vote, but two of these locals settled before election day, and the third was denied certification to conduct the vote.

The lost and close votes reflect the restrictions of the ENA on local issue bargaining and also a lack of confidence among USWA members in their union's ability to bargain effectively under these conditions.

ENA, which bans any national strike over economic issues, gives

locals the right to strike over unresolved local issues. But it disqualifies from local issue bargaining all "national" or "contractual" issues, such as incentives, craft training, or "contracting out" work to non-USWA workers.

The result of this restriction is that most of the local issues voted on in June concern proposals such as renovating washhouses and lunch rooms, placement of water coolers and air-conditioners, paving of roads, bus service, and meal tickets.

While these issues are important to those workers immediately affected, they do not have the kind of plant-wide scope that can easily unite different departments and divisions in the mills in a strike vote.

Through numerous leaflets distributed at the plant gates, and mass rallies held at the union halls, the local leaderships stressed that a positive strike authorization vote would not automatically bring a strike. But such a vote was essential, they argued, to back the union in this test of strength with the companies.

In their well-financed and well-publicized campaign through area newspapers, a letter to employees, and intimidation by foremen, the companies stoked the fears of mass layoffs and extensive unemployment.

The corporations also pointed out that the ENA had removed virtually all major issues from the discussion and asserted the remaining issues were "not worth striking over."

International leadership

Meanwhile, the international leadership did little, if anything, to reassure union members of their support for the local union.

The results indicate that ENA restrictions give credence to the companies' claim that the local issues are not important enough to strike over. The ENA so restricts the scope of these issues that many workers were evidently not convinced that a strong strike vote would be in their interests.

Thus, the provisions of the ENA have not only eliminated the union's only real bargaining tool—a strike, or threat of a strike—at the national level, but the ENA has crippled the local right to strike. Under ENA, steelworkers are faced with the prospect of relatively isolated local strikes without the full backing of their international leadership and the power that can be brought to bear by the threat of a nationwide work stoppage.

Of the three locals, the one at Republic has the best possibility of winning real gains at the local level. Strike preparations are already being made, and the union is keeping the

heat on the company during negotiations.

No strike is authorized until after August 1, and the settlement could be reached at Republic before that date.

Other local contracts

Contracts close to the union's terms were signed in June at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana, and at the Midwest Steel in Portage, Indiana, after strike votes had been threatened there by the union.

The officers at the 4,800-member USWA Local 6787 at Bethlehem and the 1,300-member USWA Local 6103 at Midwest were able to secure several important advances in these agreements, including relief time for coke

oven workers, protection of work-crew sizes, and changes in scheduling and grievance procedures.

The strike authorization vote at U.S. Steel South Works over the lack of a local seniority agreement at the 8,500-worker mill was originally approved by the international union in early June.

That approval, however, was rescinded on June 14, when it was claimed that the local leadership had not followed ENA rules.

Negotiations at the South Chicago mill have resumed, and the international union has promised to send in a top-level official to help reach a settlement in those talks, which have been stalled for several years.

Steel notes...

LÓS ANGELES FIGHT BACK DISCUSSES CONTRACT: Fifty supporters of Steelworkers Fight Back joined a panel discussion in Los Angeles June 19 on the meaning of the 1977 basic steel contract. The United Steelworkers officialdom had been invited to participate to defend the contract, but no one showed.

Panelists discussed the negative impact the steel contract will have on the negotiations of other industrial unions and how it offers no advances for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and young workers, but actually retreats on some benefits.

Nash Rodríguez, who ran for USWA secretary on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, chaired the meeting. He thanked everyone who worked on that campaign and who helped continue Fight Back after the February election. He urged steelworkers to get involved with Fight Back in Los Angeles on such projects as the newsletter, classes on participation in union meetings, fund raising, and more meetings such as the one he was chairing.

Nearly 5,000 copies of the Los Angeles Fight Back newsletter have been distributed at area plants, and unionists at the meeting took bundles with them to distribute where they work.

ARBITRATOR ORDERS DISSIDENT REHIRED: A federal arbitrator has ordered the Hughes Tool Company in Houston to rehire W.R. Morris, president of the 2,900-member USWA Local 1742. The company first fired Morris, a young Chicano unionist, after he came close to winning the local presidency in April 1976. After he was elected in a special election last December, they fired him again and barred him from the plant.

The arbitrator ordered the company to reinstate Morris within a week after his three-year union term ends in April 1979, but awarded him no back pay. Hughes Tool is still refusing Morris access to the plant.

COPPER WORKERS REACH AGREEMENT: Union leaders reached tentative agreement on a new contract one day after about 38,000 copper workers went on strike July 1. Twenty-six unions represent the workers, including the United Steelworkers. The agreement amounts to about a \$1 an hour increase including benefits. The one-day walkout closed mines and other operations in seven western states and closed smelters in New Jersey and Maryland.

UNION ACTIVIST SUSPENDED AT BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT, PLANT: John Del Vecchio, an activist in Local 7528 of the United Steelworkers union, was recently suspended by management for three days for returning two minutes late from a coffee break. Del Vecchio, a foundry worker at the Bullard Company, is vice-president of the local and editor of its monthly newspaper.

His suspension follows a written warning given almost four months ago for the same "offense," except that time he had been discussing a safety problem with another worker.

The suspension has been grieved by the union as a form of harassment and selective enforcement of company rules. A group of young union members leafleted the shop following the suspension to inform the 800 workers employed there of the incident.

McBRIDE'S GOAL IS STATUS QUO: The June 27 *Daily Calumet*, published in South Chicago, ran an interview with USWA President Lloyd McBride on the goals and challenges facing the union.

During the course of the interview, conducted by reporter Garrett Brown, McBride lauds the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) as equal to or surpassing "any settlement that has been made by any industrial union in this country in the current period of negotiations"; expresses "concern" over the steel industry's problems in getting the "capital to increase capacity"; and vows "to make sure that I don't do anything which would strengthen the position of the extreme left in their effort to gain control of our union."

Asked about the chances for change in the labor movement in the near future, McBride responded, "Actually, I am in the posture of being generally comfortable with what has been done." —Nancy Cole



Militant/Bob Kissinger

Steelworkers picket for national right to strike in 1974. In local strike votes this June, companies pushed for 'no' votes, arguing that issues limited by ENA are 'not worth striking over.'

Carter picks Cruise missile over B-1 bomber

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—"Carter Holds B-1 Bomber Production" was the lead headline in the *Washington Post* July 1. But the real significance of Carter's move was summed up in the subhead: "He plans to deploy Cruise Missile in its place."

Cruise missiles are nuclear-tipped drones that can fly 1,500 miles, skimming the tops of waves and trees, and then deliver their deadly payload within a hundred feet of their target. They undoubtedly represent a new escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown gloated over the efficiency of the new weapon at a news conference here July 1. "What we have found

during the last year is that Cruise missiles are harder to see . . . by radar and optically, and they also can fly even lower than we were sure they could.

"Both of these things make them more certain of penetration than a penetrating bomber, including the B-1. . . ."

TASS, the Soviet news agency, warned that the announcement that the Cruise missile would be deployed "seriously complicated efforts for the limitation of this strategic arms race."

Brown dismissed the Soviet alarm as immaterial. "We have to continue to assure that our position on Cruise missiles in SALT [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks] does not interfere in any way with plans for the incorporation of the missile into the strategic bomber force," he said.

A single B-52 bomber can carry twenty Cruise missiles. Because of their accuracy and the difficulty of detecting and intercepting them, the Cruise missiles will increase the temptation to try a preemptive nuclear strike—a first strike. And that increases the likelihood of all-out nuclear war.

Contractors have assured the Pentagon that the missiles can be ready as early as 1978. And development of land- and sea-based supersonic Cruise missiles is already under way.

Carter's skillful stage managing to introduce this major, and cheaper, new weapon system into the Pentagon's nuclear arsenal—while the media focused on how he had decided *not* to build the B-1 bomber—drew gasps of admiration from *Washington Post* columnist James Johnson.

Carter's "latest press conference demonstrates anew that at those sessions, he is a master," Johnson commented admiringly July 1.

For weeks Carter carefully cultivated the impression that he was leaning in the direction of approving the \$100 billion B-1 program.

Yet the signs were accumulating that the experts had decided U.S. capitalism had to forego what for the arms profiteers was the potentially most lucrative of all weapons.

Even Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), a militarist flag-waver of the old school, wrote Carter urging that the B-1 not be approved because of its expense and unproven quality.

The possibility that such an immense weapons expenditure would once again help to trigger uncontrolled inflation in the United States, and weaken U.S. imperialism in international capitalist rivalry, undoubtedly played a role in Washington's reluctant decision to put off the B-1 for now.

At the same time, the Carter administration is also edging toward production of neutron warheads. The House of Representatives has already voted money for the warheads. The Senate refused to block appropriations for the new weapon on July 1.

The Pentagon's latest brainchild, the neutron bomb would leave buildings intact outside of a relatively small central radius, but would release fatal radiation over a much larger area. Those in range of the warhead would be immediately incapacitated and would die in agony in a period ranging from one day to a week.

"There is a feeling that this is a more humane weapon because it is more precise," Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) commented. ". . . Because it is more precise, however, there is more temptation to use it. Once we introduce nuclear weaponry into conventional warfare, we're on our way."



CRUISE MISSILE: cheaper and deadlier

Miners continue fight for safety

Stearns striker shot by company guards

By Nancy Cole

The nightly gunfire from company guards at the coal mine in Stearns, Kentucky, claimed a victim June 23. Striking miner Ray Hamlin was shot in the leg as he walked to his car after finishing picket duty.

One hundred sixty coal miners have been on strike for a United Mine Workers contract at the Stearns mine since July 1976. In March of this year, the Blue Diamond Coal Company brought in armed thugs, and the shooting began.

The company's stated purpose in using the guards is protection of its property. The guards fire only "defensively," company officials claim.

Even Sheriff Joe Perry can't swallow that lie. And since coal operators are so accustomed to having the courts and cops on their side, Mine Superintendent William Coffey charges that the sheriff is "prejudiced" in the mine dispute.

Two days after Hamlin was shot, fire from the guards was so heavy it pinned down the sheriff, an NBC News camera crew, and the pickets for more than two hours.

Perry told the *Louisville Times* that the firing all came from the mine compound and that no shots were fired by the pickets.

He also said there was the sound of automatic weapons' fire, a charge the company has repeatedly denied.

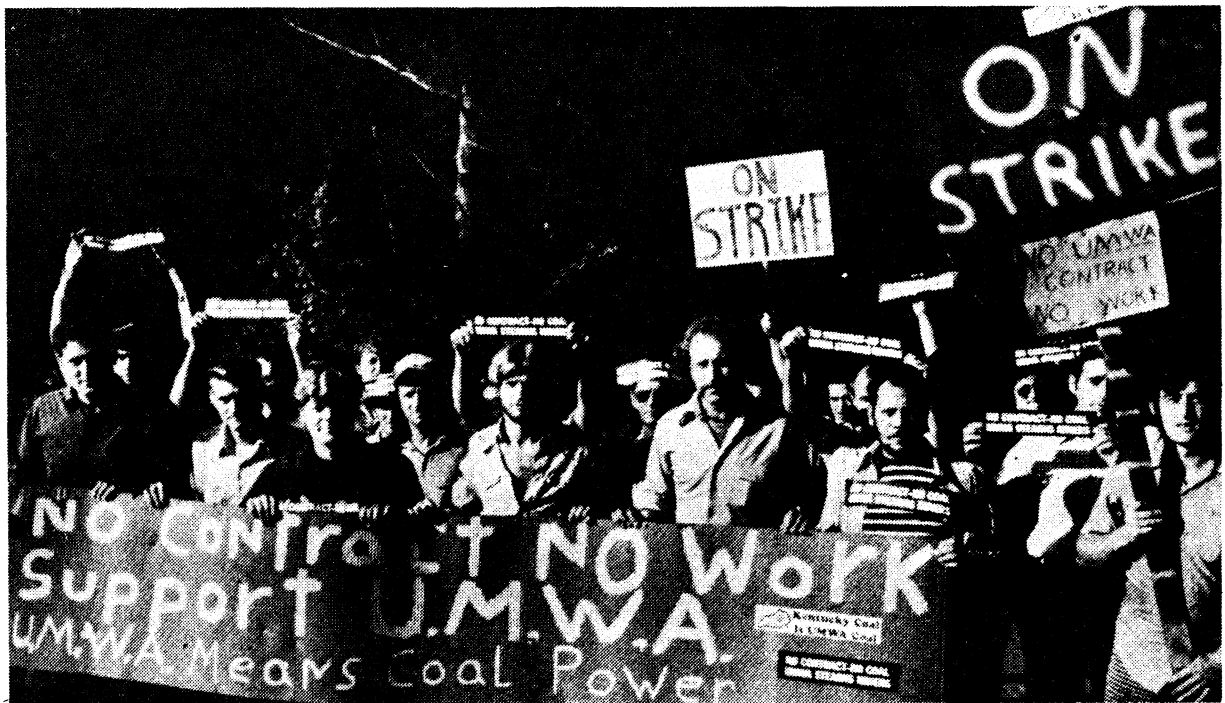
Coffey claimed, "The whole area just erupted in gunfire, but there was no shooting by the mine guards."

He charged that the pickets themselves arranged the shooting for the benefit of the TV crew.

Blue Diamond hasn't gone so far as to accuse the miners of setting up Hamlin's shooting. However, the company's version, as reported in the news media, is that two dynamite blasts rocked the mine compound, and "somebody was in the woods, firing a rifle to cover the dynamite." The guards, the company says, apparently fired "defensively."

"What I've read in the papers is all I've heard about the dynamite explosion," UMWA organizer Freddie Wright told the *Militant*. "I've not heard anyone in the county say they heard an explosion."

Wright says the dynamite story is a "cover" for the shooting. "You know, they have to have a



United Mine Workers Journal

Stearns miners have been on strike for one year because company refuses to permit a union controlled safety committee.

tale of some kind."

Negotiations in the strike were broken off by the company in January 1977. The major issue in the strike is safety. Blue Diamond absolutely refuses to agree to a union-controlled safety committee with the authority to remove miners if mine conditions threaten their lives.

Striker Darrell Vanover says mineowners are fighting the union committee because "they want to operate the mine unsafe. They say they'll comply with all the state and federal regulations, but that's what they were supposed to be doing at the Scotia mine."

Blue Diamond also owns the Scotia mine in southeastern Kentucky, where explosions killed twenty-three miners and three mine inspectors in March 1976.

There is no UMWA local at Scotia, as there has not been at Stearns for more than two decades.

Miners at Stearns say conditions similar to those at Scotia exist at their mine.

The explosion at Scotia resulted from a buildup

of the odorless gas methane. At Stearns, the miners say, legally required gas monitors, which are supposed to automatically shut off equipment if a dangerous level is detected, are fixed so that machinery continues to operate no matter what the gas level.

Mine Superintendent Coffey admitted to the *New York Times* that this sometimes happens. "It's a violation," he callously conceded, "but not a reason to shut down the mine!"

It is this disregard for miners' lives that has prompted the Stearns strikers to fight so hard for a UMWA contract.

On Friday, July 8, the strikers have scheduled a rally, and they expect UMWA members from six states to travel to Stearns to show their support.

It will also be an opportunity for other unionists and supporters of the Stearns miners to demonstrate their solidarity with this fight and with the larger struggle the entire UMWA faces when its national contract expires in December.

Discuss attacks on Black rights

3,100 gather for NAACP convention

By John Hawkins
and Omari Musa

ST. LOUIS—In her speech opening the sixty-eighth annual NAACP convention here June 27-July 1, Margaret Bush Wilson, national board of directors chairperson, unwittingly expressed the dilemma facing the NAACP and the Black movement as a whole.

On the one hand, Wilson delivered a stirring call for full political, economic, and social equality for Blacks. "Despite our legal and legislative gains," she told the 3,100 delegates and observers, "... far too many African-Americans are no nearer the long-sought goal of social and economic equality than they were twenty or thirty years ago."

Noting the setbacks to Black rights recently, Wilson added, "Now is the time for Americans of African descent to say to all those who would take from us the fruits of hard-won gains and reverse our struggle, that we have confronted worse enemies. We did not flinch then, we will not falter now. . . ." On the other hand, Wilson proposed little in the way of a solution. Her criticism of the Carter administration was at best muted. She and other NAACP leaders were careful to maintain that tone throughout the gathering.

And despite repeated references to the grandeur of past civil rights marches, Wilson steered clear of any concrete call to action besides the usual lobbying, litigation, and electioneering.

Uneasiness

Much of the discussion among delegates and observers at the convention reflected their uneasiness over the new attacks on Black rights.

This was clearly the case in the employment workshop. Delegates pointed out that joblessness in the Black community is still at least twice that of whites, and that among urban Black youth it ranges up to 50 percent.

Many were also concerned that affirmative-action victories are now under heavy attack by the government, employers, and the trade-union bureaucracy.

After the first workshop session, where a heated debate took place (see last week's *Militant*), NAACP leaders sought to paper over the differences on affirmative action and seniority. Despite their efforts, however, the discussion continued to force its way to the surface.

Another indication of the sentiment among delegates and observers was the favorable response to the *Full Equality Now* statement circulated by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. NSCAR coordinator Tony Austin told the *Militant* that SCAR activists attending the convention distributed 1,500 copies of the statement, which calls for a conference of the Black movement to chart a mass-action campaign to roll back the current assault on Black rights.

Two resolutions

SCAR supporters attending the convention as delegates and observers also helped prepare two proposals submitted to the resolutions committee.

NAACP Youth Council members from New Orleans and other cities drafted a strongly worded resolution calling on the council to "organize educational activities this November on the real situation in South Africa."

The resolution called for a pull-out of all U.S. corporations from South Africa and the release of all political prisoners there, and urged the convention to "affirm its support of Black majority rule."

Supporters of this resolution held a



1977 NAACP convention rally

Militant/John Hawkins

news conference to explain their views and urge the convention to adopt the resolution.

A much milder resolution came out of the resolutions committee. However, it did call for the release of South African political prisoners, a boycott of South African products, and an end to discrimination in employment. It also urged "the cessation of further investment in South Africa by American banks and companies." This represented a forward step for the NAACP.

A second resolution was introduced by several NAACP chapter chairpersons at the urging of NSCAR members. It called on the NAACP to convene, along with other civil rights organizations, a national conference of the Black movement. It urged that at such a conference the NAACP propose a campaign of marches, picket lines, and other mass protests in response to recent attacks on Black rights.

According to Glenn White, a youth delegate to the resolutions committee from St. Louis and an NSCAR supporter, the proposal won the support of close to one-fourth of the sixty-four-person committee. Like the Youth Council's South Africa resolution, however, this resolution did not reach the plenary session.



NAACP executive director-designate Benjamin Hooks.

Militant/John Hawkins

The power and breadth of the attacks on Black rights seem to have caught the NAACP leadership off guard. Their statements reflected an underestimation of the full meaning of Washington's anti-Black assault.

At a news conference June 29, Wilson assailed the Senate's antibusing amendment to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

She called the bill "an extremely regressive measure that promises to take this nation back to the 1876 Hayes-Tilden Compromise [the government agreement that overturned the brief period of Black Reconstruction following the Civil War]."

"The NAACP strongly deplores this measure and vows to devote all its resources to ensure that it is not signed into law by President Jimmy Carter."

Wilson said that "what the act actually does is to say to Black children in the North, especially, that they are not entitled to full support of the federal government in their fight to win their rights to a decent education."

But, Wilson admitted, "I really think we may have underestimated the climate. . . . Some of us were astounded by the promptness and alacrity of this."

Other NAACP leaders tried to shake off previous body blows with wishful thinking.

This was most clear at a workshop entitled, "Supreme Court and our rights: the effect of the intent standard on civil rights legislation."

This referred to several recent Supreme Court decisions on housing, schools, and employment that deliberate *intent* to discriminate must be proved, not just the *fact* of discrimination, in order to justify court action to correct such inequities.

Tom Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP branch and the association's attorney in several school desegregation cases, said that the rulings "have not made the burden [of proof in civil rights suits] any greater."

The main reason for concern over the rulings, he said, is that "they have changed the climate, because they have triggered a reaction among those who oppose school desegregation. . . ."

One participant in the workshop spoke in support of the NSCAR *Full Equality Now* statement. He pointed out that it was precisely because of this "climate" and its impact on judges

that the NAACP needs a direct-action campaign to back up its court battles.

NAACP staff attorney Jim Meyerson pointed out that even in the purely legal sense, the impact of the court's new criteria for proof of discrimination will make civil rights cases harder to win.

"Any judge can now say that the plaintiffs have not proved intent. . . ." Meyerson said. "We're operating in a system that recognizes the rights of the oppressor."

The real meaning of the court's new "intent" criteria was shown by the Dayton, Ohio, school desegregation ruling handed down during the convention. That ruling, in effect, imposed stricter requirements on lower courts for ordering system-wide busing plans. The response of some NAACP officials to this ruling missed that fact.

Two days after the Dayton ruling the court ruled against the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Omaha, Nebraska, school desegregation plans as well (see article on facing page). These two decisions went unanswered by NAACP spokespeople.

Pressure to respond

Nevertheless, some Black leaders at the convention felt forced to react to the attacks against Black rights.

Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., told reporters, "We are in a holding action in relation to the Carter administration. Carter has delivered far more to the ruling classes, to the corporate interests than to those who put him into office."

Walker said that while Carter has been speaking out on human rights all over the world, he "has done nothing on the promises he made to Blacks. . . ."

"We were inclined to buy the early request to give the administration time to pull itself together," Walker said it is time to call an end to this period and convene a national leadership conference to map out a "Black agenda."

Benjamin Hooks, who will take over as executive director of the NAACP August 1, expressed the same sentiment in his speech at the Freedom Fund Awards Banquet.

The speech outlined his perspectives for the NAACP. He said the "historical" tools of the NAACP to effect social change were the courts, lobbying, voter registration, direct action, and education.

Among the proposals to the national

Continued on page 30

Vance speaks to NAACP

No new U.S. policy in southern Africa

By Omari Musa

ST. LOUIS—Addressing the sixty-eighth annual convention of the NAACP July 1, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance unveiled the Carter administration's plan for Africa.

And from Washington's point of view, the NAACP convention was the perfect political setting for the unveiling.

After paying homage to outgoing NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, Vance reported that the U.S. economic stake in Africa had increased dramatically in the last fifteen years. "Africa's mineral and agricultural wealth," he said, "already provides a substantial portion of our imports of such commodities as copper, cobalt, and manganese for our industries, and cocoa and coffee for our homes. And Africa supplies 38 percent of our crude petroleum imports."

Next, he explained that knee-jerk cold-war diplomacy in Africa is counterproductive today. "A negative, reactive American policy that seeks only to oppose Soviet or Cuban involvement in Africa would be both dangerous and futile." Instead, Vance proposed, "our policies should recognize and encourage African nationalism."

How? By dispensing goodies to those prepared to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism. "Our economic assistance to Africa," he said, "is being increased—from \$271 million in fiscal year 1976 to a projected \$450 million in fiscal year 1978. We hope that assistance from our European friends will also increase. . . ."

Vance then took a potshot at Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. He "applauded" the recent decision by "[the British] Commonwealth countries to condemn the 'massive violation of human rights' in Uganda."

"Abuse of human rights is wrong on any grounds," Vance continued. "It is particularly offensive when it is on the basis of race."

There was a quiet murmur in the section where I sat. After all, Vance was speaking at the convention of the NAACP, an organization founded to fight for *Black human rights in the United States*. And everyone understood that *that fight* has not yet been won.

Vance finally came to what everyone was waiting for—U.S. policy toward southern Africa.

He hinted at why Carter had sought to repackage U.S. policy: the public outcry against the white-minority regimes; growing strength of the nationalist groups in Zimbabwe (Rhodes-

ia) and Namibia; danger of increasing protests here at home against U.S. complicity; and the explosion of the Black population in South Africa itself.

Vance's solution? Neocolonial regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and elimination of some of the most odious forms of apartheid in South Africa.

Vance claimed that "indications of flexibility on the part of South Africa" were helping Namibia toward independence. "We are gratified by the confidence shown by many African governments in the efforts of the U.S. and Western associates on the [United Nations] Security Council."

Vance's remarks on the changes that Washington is demanding from South Africa's apartheid regime put the lie to claims that U.S. imperialism favors Black majority rule. "The specific form of government through which this [Black] participation could be expressed," he said, "is a matter for the people of South Africa to decide. There are many ways in which individual rights within South Africa could be protected."

Vance then parenthetically threw out the name of Andrew Young as one of the architects of U.S. African policy. The mention of Young drew a standing ovation and such thunderous applause that the sound system was overloaded and the microphones went dead.

This response to Young clearly showed that the capitalists have a useful tool at their disposal. Through Young, they hope to defuse and misdirect the antiapartheid sentiments of a large section of the U.S. Black community into safe dependence on Washington to bring about an end to white-minority rule.

Fifteen minutes later, Vance resumed his speech with a little saber rattling at Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Referring to Soviet and Cuban aid to Ethiopia, Vance said, "We will consider sympathetically appeals for assistance from states which are threatened by a buildup of foreign military equipment and advisers on their borders, in the Horn and elsewhere in Africa."

Vance then extended the hand of the Carter administration to the NAACP leaders on a national and local level to help make this policy a success. It was clear that many accepted it.

And, according to a July 1 news dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa, printed the following day in the *New York Times*, so did the South African Foreign Ministry. A ministry official called Vance's speech "encouraging."

2 days after Dayton

Supreme Court voids Milwaukee busing plan

By Robert Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—Beset by a string of legal setbacks, many civil rights leaders reacted to the U.S. Supreme Court's June 27 Dayton, Ohio, school desegregation ruling with what one called "a sigh of relief." But subsequent court decisions indicate they may have breathed that sigh too soon.

Citing the Dayton ruling just two days after it had been handed down, the justices ordered a federal appeals court to review its school desegregation decision for this city. The justices also ordered a review of an Omaha, Nebraska, ruling.

The court's action left little doubt about the real meaning of the Dayton ruling, the first against a school desegregation plan *already in progress*. In effect, the court wrote into law the stricter requirements for ordering system-wide desegregation plans that Attorney General Griffin Bell requested when he assumed office.

According to the court's Dayton decision, system-wide desegregation plans must now be based on specific findings of system-wide intentional segregation. In other words, the remedy must not exceed the violation.

This backward notion was first expressed last fall by Supreme Court Justices Powell, Burger, and Rehnquist in an opinion attached to the court's ruling overturning an Austin, Texas, busing plan. They wrote: "... an equitable remedy is determined by and may not properly exceed the effect of the constitutional violation."

Bell was referring to this opinion when he said mistakenly in February that the Supreme Court had changed the law on busing.

But Bell's words would ring true today. The court's Dayton ruling cut out the heart of its 1973 Denver decision that proof of intentional segregation in any meaningful section of a school system proves intentional segregation throughout.

Far from occasioning a "sigh of relief," the Dayton ruling is cause for sounding the alarm. The court's June 29 Milwaukee ruling shows this clearly.

Citing the Dayton ruling, the justices ordered the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals to reconsider a 1976 order to desegregate public schools here. Circuit Court Judge John Reynolds had found that the Milwaukee school board had deliberately segregated the schools.

The board's intent was revealed by their methods: time and again redistricting school attendance areas to keep the schools segregated; building new schools in locations that would result in segregated attendance; and keeping Black students in separate classrooms with separate recess and lunch periods when the board was forced to transfer them to white schools during periods of building renovation.

The court's Milwaukee ruling did not challenge Reynolds's findings that the schools are segregated. But the court ruled that neither Reynolds nor the appeals court had shown that the school board through deliberate acts had segregated the *entire system*. Therefore, ruled the court, a *system-wide* desegregation plan was not justified.

The Supreme Court order has encouraged the school board in its opposition to desegregation. According to Reynolds's original ruling, two-thirds of the schools must have Black enrollments of between 25 and 50 percent

when schools open this fall. School board segregationists are seeking appeals court approval to block any further mandatory reassignment of students.

In the face of the court decision and reinforced racist opposition, it is unlikely that Reynolds and Special Integration Master John Gronouski will press ahead with current desegregation plans. They have already tried to appease the racist opposition by accepting programs for the first two years of a three-year plan that rely largely on the one-way busing of Black students.



Militant/David Frankel

GRIFFIN BELL: Court rulings granted his request for stricter limitations on city-wide busing plans.

Although figures for busing in the 1977-78 school year are not yet available, last year's figures indicate that 90 percent of those bused were Black. In addition, Gronouski agreed to permit the school administration to leave some of the largest and most heavily segregated schools until last.

Backers of school desegregation here in Milwaukee now face another battle to establish Black students' right to equal education. The new criteria imposed by the Supreme Court's Milwaukee ruling, *based directly on the Dayton ruling*, will make that battle more difficult to win.

Another difficulty lies in the desegregation plan itself, which places the largest burden on Blacks. Despite the limitations of the plan, however, most people in the Black community here support desegregation.

This fact could upset the scheme of racist forces here who may be counting on confusion over the plan's inequities to paralyze action by prodesegregation forces. But one thing is certain, the racist opposition has taken new heart from the court's Dayton and Milwaukee rulings. It could even be said they breathed "a sigh of relief."



Militant/John Hawkins

Cyrus Vance yucks it up with outgoing NAACP chief Roy Wilkins

250 at Texas meeting discuss deportation

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—More than 250 Chicanos and their supporters attended a "People's Meeting" here June 25-26 to discuss deportations and defense of political prisoners in the United States and Latin America, especially in Mexico.

The meeting, sponsored by TUCASA, a local antideportation organization, launched an International Committee on Immigration and Foreign Policy.

Participants discussed plans being drawn up by the Carter administration to crack down on immigrants without work or residence permits, the people the government calls "illegal aliens."

Supporters of the national Chicano conference, to be held in San Antonio October 28-30, participated in the workshop on immigration. Miguel Pendás, who has been helping to organize the conference, emphasized the importance of a broad national response to these attacks by the Carter administration.

"Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and Latinos are leading the struggle against depor-

tations and the racist plans of the government, because we suffer directly from them," Pendás said.

"But we can reach other sectors of society, and win them to our side, with a broadly sponsored national conference. We can convince church and community groups, student, Black, and women's organizations."

Pendás emphasized that "despite the racist attitudes on this question of many union officials," there should be a special effort to win unions away from the idea that deportations can solve unemployment.

Some activists at the conference felt that Carter's appointment of Leonel Castillo as the first Chicano to head the Immigration and Naturalization Service could alleviate the situation.

Amparo Aguilar, of the Austin Raza Unida Party, argued that Castillo was just a brown face used as windowdressing to cover up a policy that was as bad as the Republican policy.

Mine Cantú, a conference organizer, pointed to the importance of unity in organizing protests against deportations. "At today's meeting we've

formed an international committee in defense of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Cantú said.

"With this committee working with other groups, we should have success in building the movement. If we can get all groups to work together, that would be excellent."

In addition to the discussion around immigration, there was much discussion of the plight of political prisoners. Representatives of a defense committee

in Monterrey, Mexico, explained the case of five activists who "disappeared" in 1974 and 1975 and haven't been heard from since. The Mexican government claims to know nothing of their fate.

A Chicago representative of the National Committee on Grand Jury Repression spoke on the use of grand juries to imprison Puerto Rican activists.

'The Unwanted'

SAN ANTONIO—The Student Coalition Against Racism is making effective use of "The Unwanted," a film that sympathetically portrays the plight of undocumented immigrants, to mobilize support for the national Chicano conference to be held here October 28-30.

According to Miguel Zárate of SCAR, more than 100 students

attended a showing of the film at the University of Texas in San Antonio.

After a presentation by Nacho Pérez of the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, twenty-five students signed up to help organize the conference.

SCAR has also shown the film at St. Mary's University and San Antonio College. —M.S.

If you like what you read in the 'Militant'...

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—Marc MacCrary is a forty-three-year-old actor, a member of Actor's Equity. Recently he became the newest member of the Dallas branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

At a recent Militant Forum entitled, "What is the SWP?" MacCrary explained how he came to join the SWP.

"I've been an actor all my life, working professionally since I was a teen-ager," he explained. "In the

decided that I wanted to help distribute this newspaper.

"When my theater contract was finished in January I went to New York, called up the national headquarters, and asked to become a member.

"The party took me at my word and suggested I help out the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the SWP's lawsuit against the government.

"During that time I was very fortunate," MacCrary said. "An interested party leader introduced me to branch work.

"I'm a native Texan and have spent a lot of time in the Ft. Worth-Dallas area. So when the party asked if I would go to Dallas to help build the new branch here, I said, 'Yes.'"

"During the months I've been here, I've discovered the party and its membership to be a reflection of the *Militant*," MacCrary explained. "It's actively involved in community causes, basing its actions on a platform of equal rights and equal justice for all men and women and on putting human needs before profits."

For example, the Dallas branch has been active in the local Oliver Davis defense committee. Davis is a Black Dallas resident who was framed for



MARC MACCRARY

murder and related charges in a nearby town, Waxahachie.

MacCrary and other SWP members helped organize and participated in two marches in Waxahachie.

MacCrary also helped the local Student Coalition Against Racism

organize a June 18 picket line at Mobil Oil protesting that corporation's support to racist regimes in southern Africa.

Now especially interested in helping distribute the *Militant*, MacCrary sells the newspaper at 6:30 a.m. every Wednesday at a nearby plant organized by the United Steelworkers of America. The Dallas branch has organized such plant-gate sales to make sure supporters of Ed Sadlowski's Fight Back slate in last February's steel union election know that steelworkers are continuing to fight back.

MacCrary has also been in charge of the Dallas branch's weekly forum series. The forums have given people in Dallas a place to discuss topics such as the death penalty, gay rights, the women's movement, and Alex Haley's book *Roots*.

Summing up his decision to join the SWP, MacCrary said, "I'm proud to be a member of such a party that is leading the way toward international social change."

If you like what you read in the *Militant*, why not join the Socialist Workers Party? Contact the branch nearest you, listed on page 31, or write the SWP national office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

JOINING THE SWP

spring of 1976 I was appearing at a dinner theater in Atlanta. An SWP member was a chef there, and he used to sell the *Militant* backstage.

"I bought a couple of copies and took them with me to my next job, a six-month contract in Sarasota on the west coast of Florida—far from any SWP branch.

"But those two copies of the *Militant* got me so interested that I sent off for a trial subscription. Once the *Militant* started arriving regularly, I soon

Univ. of California votes to restrict admission

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—On June 2 the University of California Academic Senate voted to tighten admission standards for UC schools.

As a first step the senate voted to increase the amount of high school English required for college admission.

In addition, the body cleared the way for increased reliance on standardized tests, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), in determining eligibility for admissions.

The vote was a direct extension of the attack on Black and Chicano students that began in the UC system last September with the *Bakke* decision. The *Bakke* decision declared a UC Davis Medical School minority admissions program unconstitutional on the grounds that it discriminated against whites.

Recent evidence has documented university complicity with Allan Bakke—the white student who filed the suit—and university suppression of evidence in court in an attempt to have affirmative-action programs thrown out. The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to hear the case in October.

The recent academic senate vote will

place a four-year college education out of reach for nearly all minority students in California.

The excuses put forward for the admission-standards hike are: "grade inflation"—they have determined that the "B" of today is only worth the "C" of ten years ago; and the "inability of freshmen to compose a sentence."

In theory, these new standards will hit white youth just as hard as Black, Latino, or Asian youth.

But in reality the new regulations strike a heavier blow at the right of minority youth to a college education.

Requiring top English scores from students who are forced to attend inferior, segregated schools sets up a Catch-22 for minorities. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission report on Los Angeles schools shows that Black and Latino students in segregated schools read below the thirtieth percentile on a national norm.

The study also demonstrated that while Black students showed the same potential as their white counterparts when they entered school, by the third grade the achievement scores of Blacks had already fallen behind.

Latino students face the additional

penalty of being tested and taught in their second language.

Affirmative-action admission programs won in the 1960s helped break down this barrier facing Black, Latino, and Asian students. In addition, some campuses won open admissions—guaranteeing admission to all.

These programs prevented universities from using the discrimination minority students face in elementary and high school—segregation into inferior schools—as an excuse to discriminate against them as potential college students.

Affirmative-action programs cut across this twofold discrimination, and remedial courses were designed to help victims of discrimination catch up.

The tightening economy however brought cutbacks—cutbacks that hit these remedial programs first.

This trend is now being deepened, in an effort to force minority students out of four-year colleges altogether.

The University of California's new admission standards—based on higher grade-point averages, culturally biased tests, and additional stress on English—are big steps in that direction.

COORS STRIKE



No role for workers
in beer boycott strategy

By Tom Vernier

GOLDEN, Colo.—Brewery Workers Local 366, representing nearly 1,500 workers, has been on strike against the Coors beer plant here since April 5.

The Coors brewery is run by Joseph and William Coors, heirs of Adolph Coors, who launched the business in 1872. The Coors brothers are well-known supporters of right-wing causes, including the antiunion Right To Work Committee.

Since a series of bitterly fought strikes in 1956 and 1957, the Coors brothers have gradually chipped away at the strength of the brewery workers union.

Many workers openly concede that a defeat for this strike will mean no union at Coors.

When the contract expired December 31, 1976, no new contract had been

agreed on. In the negotiations that followed, the company insisted that gains won by the union in the past be taken away.

The company demanded that seniority rights be restricted so much that they would become meaningless. Other company proposals included obligatory lie detector tests and physical examinations on the job at any time at the discretion of the company.

Eventually, Coors even demanded that the union shop be abolished.

During these negotiations the company sent letters to Coors workers flagrantly misrepresenting the proposals being discussed at the bargaining table.

Coors's refusal to negotiate fairly forced the union to call a strike on April 5. The strike vote, taken by secret ballot several weeks before the strike,

was almost unanimous in favor of a walkout, with nearly every one of the eligible workers voting.

From the beginning of the strike, the union leaders explained they did not intend to stop production. The picket lines were quite large at first, but printed instructions to picketers pointed out that mass picketing was not permitted. So the number of pickets at each gate diminished quickly.

Reliance on boycott

The primary source of this limited picketing policy is the union leadership's total reliance on the consumer boycott of Coors beer as the weapon against the company. Union leaders are convinced that the boycott can take the place of a militant strike that would stop production.

Since April 5, however, Coors has continued to produce beer, ship it to distributors, and sell it. Company negotiators have met twice with the union, and they have refused to modify their now openly union-busting stance.

This has resulted in the demoralization of a big section of the union membership. Well over half the union members have gone back into the plant to join at least 400 scabs hired by Coors.

Despite the fact that a majority of the union has gone back to work, union leaders insist on simply dismissing these workers as "scabs." No attempt has been made to communicate with them or to win them back.

The union charged Coors with unfair labor practices, and a National Labor Relations Board hearing is set for July 19 to rule on these charges.

Unfortunately, the fate of the strike now rests with that hearing. If the NLRB rules against the union, the only remaining obstacle in the union-busting path of Joseph and William Coors will be the boycott.

Brewery Workers Local 366 is not part of any international union, but is directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO. And the AFL-CIO central leadership is the source of the boycott strategy.

A few days after the strike was called Dave Sickler, an AFL-CIO staff member and former business agent of Local 366, told a rally of striking Coors workers that "the battle will be decided in the marketplace, not on the picket line."

Pickets 'symbolic'

According to this view, the picket lines outside the Coors brewery are merely symbolic. The real struggle is in thousands of liquor stores and bars across the western United States where individuals are deciding whether or not to buy Coors beer.

But a strike like the one at Coors is part of a defensive battle waged by the workers against their bosses. Victory in such a battle depends on the organization and unity of the workers directly involved.

With total reliance on the boycott, the force that could hurt the brewery by halting production—the striking

workers—is withdrawn from the center of the battle.

This is not to say that the boycott is of no value. A well-publicized boycott could help win public support and involvement in the strike, and it could even have an economic effect on a company like Coors.

But in order to be successful, a boycott must be based on a solidly organized struggle by the workers who are immediately affected by the strike, in this case the Coors workers themselves.

The Coors boycott has the verbal support of the national AFL-CIO, and the somewhat more active support of the Teamsters. The Teamsters have directly felt the antiunion hostility of the Coors brothers, who are responsible for organizing a retraction of Teamster contracts by most California distributors of Coors beer.

Support coalition

A group called the Coors Boycott and Strike Support Coalition was formed several weeks after Local 366 announced the boycott. This coalition has become an example of how not to support a strike.

At its first meeting, the group adopted six "Points of Unity," none of which have any direct relation to support of the strike and boycott.

Unfortunately, the leaders of this coalition also believe that supporting the strike means you may not express criticisms of how it's being conducted. One coalition statement threatens to "expel any of its members who attempt to confuse and divide the workers instead of uniting the many to defeat the few."

The coalition has decided that members of the Maoist Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly the October League, tried to "confuse and divide the workers" by handing out a leaflet critical of the union leadership. So the group was expelled from the coalition.

Some coalition members think this policy also means that the *Militant* and other newspapers can't be sold at picket lines and other strike activities.

Although the coalition includes sincere activists who have put in long hours in support of the boycott, the coalition has not succeeded in involving significant numbers of people in boycott and strike support activities.

The Coors strike also provides an example of the failure of the union movement to consistently reach out to the unorganized and to the oppressed to draw them into the unions and to make their struggles the struggles of the union movement.

Chicanos have boycotted Coors beer for years because of the company's discriminatory hiring practices. If in the past the union had made this issue its own, instead of ignoring it, the possibility of an alliance of the union and the Chicano community would exist today. Such a coalition could have a big impact on Coors and on other racist employers.

Black sociologist wins tenure fight at Berkeley

By Ginny Hildebrand

Harry Edwards, a Black sociologist, has won his six-month fight for tenure at the University of California, Berkeley. In an unprecedented move, the campus chancellor promoted Edwards to associate professor with tenure, overturning the decision of the sociology department.

Officially, Edwards's critics had challenged the scholarly value of his work. His specialty—and the title of one of his books used on more than 150 campuses—is *The Sociology of Sports*.

But Edwards's interests are not merely academic.

In 1968 he helped organize the protest against racism by Black American athletes at the Mexico City Olym-

pics. Currently, Edwards is a member of ACCESS (American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society). This newly formed group seeks to end sports competitions between the United States and the racist regimes in southern Africa. Edwards supported the April protests against the participation of the South African tennis team in the Davis Cup tournament in California. He has also backed pro-school-desegregation and antiapartheid activities of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

On campus, Edwards has been a central organizer of protests against the California Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision, which struck down



HARRY EDWARDS

affirmative-action admissions policies for minority students. He blasted the *Bakke* decision as a "reversal and elimination" of gains won through "hard, dedicated struggles."

For the past six years, students have thronged to Edwards's courses. This spring they rallied to his defense, insisting that the sociology department's decision was politically and racially motivated. Only 14 of the 1,182 tenured professors at Berkeley are Black.

Edwards called the chancellor's decision "a little harvest for the people."

"I deserved the tenure," he said, "but I got it because the people demanded it."

Abortion attacks

The speed and severity of the government's anti-abortion offensive over the past few weeks has stunned supporters of women's rights.

- The Supreme Court has ruled that states are no longer required to provide publicly funded abortions or to perform abortions in public hospitals.

- Congress is moving rapidly toward passage of a new version of the Hyde amendment, which would deny Medicaid funds for abortion.

- And now the injunction that has kept these funds intact since last fall is also up for review (see back-page article).

If these new bills and court decisions are fully implemented, estimates are that 850 women each week will seek out illegal abortions. At least 5 will die as a result, and dozens will be maimed. The vast majority of these victims will be Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and other working women, those on welfare, and young women.

Abortion opponents openly state that this is just the beginning of their campaign to overturn *all* legal abortion. Carter and his colleagues on Capitol Hill hope that those women not immediately affected by the new attacks will not fight back, making the next steps in their anti-abortion offensive easier.

Thus far, right-wing forces have successfully mobilized the anti-abortion *minority* in a loud and visible campaign.

But the voice of the abortion rights *majority* has been muted by a strategy of relying on the "good will" of the courts and liberal politicians. The bitter fruits of this strategy are now clear.

On June 29, liberal Democrats in the Senate helped tip the vote in favor of cutting off Medicaid. In Connecticut, Democratic Gov. Ella Grasso, elected with the support of many feminists, has eliminated government funds for all abortions, except for women who have a doctor's "proof" of medical need.

The betrayal of the Democratic and Republican politicians underscores the need for women to turn to their real allies—in the Black communities, on the campuses, and in the labor movement—to mount a powerful, independent campaign of actions in defense of abortion rights.

Such a counteroffensive can reach out to the masses of women for whom this issue is now a life-and-death matter, mobilizing them in the uncompromising fight that is needed to put the anti-abortion forces back on the defensive.

Determined miners

The year-long strike of 160 coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, is an example of miners' determination to make the coal industry safe under their own control.

The confrontation in Stearns is also a reminder of the determination of the mineowners to flaunt mine safety laws and to destroy the United Mine Workers union if possible.

The armed assault on Stearns strikers by a private army of gun thugs hired by the company and billeted at the mine site is typical of the employers' strikebreaking methods. The courts and cops take every opportunity to aid this lawlessness.

Defense of the strike, and of the miners who face criminal charges stemming from company provocations, is in the interests of all mine workers and other unionists whose living standards and working conditions are under attack.

The July 8 rally of miners near Stearns is a good beginning. The UMWA is badly in need of such actions to demonstrate the power and solidarity of the ranks.

The months between now and December, when the UMWA contract expires, are a crucial period of union preparation for that coming battle with the coal operators. There is no better way to get ready than to rally support for the Stearns strikers from every UMWA local and from the entire labor movement, and to publicize as widely as possible the issues in the strike.

Revolutionary poetry

I disagree wholeheartedly with Adolfo Esteva's statement in his review of *Latin American Revolutionary Poetry* [*Militant*, June 17] that "there has never been any such thing as 'revolutionary' poetry. . . ."

Though it would be a mistake to call any and all art that condemns social injustice "revolutionary," revolutionary art certainly exists. It is simply the art of a *consciously* revolutionary artist. Such art must not only condemn injustice, it must also point out the cause of it, and urge or somehow motivate people to eliminate it.

I would never want such a definition to condemn all nonrevolutionary art as bad, useless, or irrelevant. I consider John Coltrane America's greatest musical artist, though the political and social content of his art cannot be described as revolutionary. On the other hand, there exist many folk ditties which, though they may be musically run-of-the-mill, are unmistakably revolutionary in content.

There is such a thing as revolutionary art. In poetry especially, because it uses the medium of language, the political and social content is often very clear.

Steve Manty
Northampton, Massachusetts

[Adolfo Esteva replies—What is revolutionary—to understand reality or to change it? And how to change it—with poetry, songs, and flowers, or with mass mobilizations, rational understanding, and full commitment? And how to organize the masses—with emotional description of their reality or with patient and systematic discussion of their situation and clear understanding of their strength and potential power?

[The tragedy of Latin America is that the reasons for making the revolution have been with us for a long time. The only problem is *how*, how to change society, eliminate exploitation, oppression, imperialism, capitalism.

[The rational and systematic discussion of these problems is revolutionary. Poetry has stood aside from these discussions and aside from organizing the masses. Of course, I don't think that makes poetry blameworthy.

[The problem is how we define the word "revolutionary." This word has been misused, and I think we should be more careful using it.]

Death of a witch-hunter

Justice Irving Saypol died June 30 at the age of seventy-one.

Saypol earned notoriety as the prosecutor in the infamous Rosenberg trial in 1951. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for "treason" in a frame-up case during the hysterical anticommunist witch-hunt of the 1950s.

Saypol was at the center of this witch-hunt. Besides his prosecution of the Rosenbergs, he prosecuted Alger Hiss, a former State Department aide accused of being in the pay of "communists." Saypol also organized the prosecution of eleven members of the Communist Party who were convicted of conspiring to "teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government."

The witch-hunt was a tragic event in the history of the American working class. Hundreds of thousands of people lost their jobs, their reputations, and some—such as the Rosenbergs—their

lives. Millions more were terrorized into silence, afraid to speak out in defense of their constitutional rights.

By participating in this disgusting crusade of bigotry, fear, and reaction, Saypol and others like him branded themselves for all of history as liars, slanderers, and murderers. They will be remembered the way we remember the Salem judges who executed innocent people accused of witchcraft.

And the fight of the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, to vindicate their parents' memories, and to expose the role of the government in concocting the frame-up case against them, will be remembered as an important contribution to the defense of civil liberties in this country.

Peter Archer
New York, New York

For the sisters

I would like to express my support for the brothers and sisters who are engaged in uncompromising struggle for self-determination in Africa, Palestine, and Iran. I'd like to especially express my support for the sisters, who have to put up with the brutal, terroristic regimes.

The sisters are and will remain the heart and soul of the liberation movement, just like here in the U.S. In this country women like Assata Shakur, Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso, and Joanne Little have fought hard against racist oppression, uncompromisingly, with their hearts and souls.

Tony Jones
Indianapolis, Indiana

New S. 1

I just finished reading "New S-1: an old trick" in the June 24 *Militant*. I'm very interested in the bill because it has a lot to do with human rights and the plight of prisoners (both present and future). I'd like to know where I can obtain both the old S. 1 and the new one, S. 1437.

A prisoner
New York

[In reply—Copies of the bills may be obtained from the office of Sen Edward Kennedy, 431 Russell Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C., 20510.]

Prison victory

Lo and behold, I've been getting my *Militants* lately. I wrote you and told you to stop sending them, as the ex-CIA "Tiger Cage" censor (among others) wasn't letting them in. You printed the letter [*Militant*, June 24]. Thank you.

I've sent several affidavits to the D.C. Prison Project, with mailing labels from *Militants* that were getting in, to contrast with the denial of mine.

A prisoner
Kansas

Abortion rights

On June 20 the Supreme Court ruled that states can refuse to spend public money on abortions for poor women if the operations aren't deemed medically necessary.

This decision, to say the least, is insensitive to individual rights. I am dismayed, but not particularly surprised at this judgment.

The forces campaigning against the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to choose loudly decry the "evils" of equal rights and opportunities for



Capitol Hill war crimes

Remember the war in Vietnam?

There's a lot to remember. The pictures of Vietnamese prisoners being tortured or their bodies being dragged by armored cars. Napalm and high explosives raining down on the countryside, and B-52s leveling the cities of North Vietnam.

Other pictures also come to mind. U.S. planes spraying defoliant over the forests, the infamous tiger-cage prison at Con Son, body counts, and, of course, the My Lai massacre.

If it had been up to the United States Congress, the whole thing would still be going on.

Year after year after year, while hundreds of thousands demonstrated in the streets against the war, the war criminals in the halls of Congress voted the money to carry on the slaughter. Who can say how many needless deaths they were responsible for?

To this day, the absolute majority of those parasites sitting in Congress are holdovers from the Vietnam War period. I was reminded of all this when the House, and then the Senate, voted to block the use of federal funds for President Carter's pardon for Vietnam draft resisters. Another House vote will stop Vietnam veterans whose discharges have been upgraded under the Carter plan from collecting the benefits they would have otherwise been entitled to.

Carter's pardon was inadequate to begin with, of course. But even this pinched and halfhearted program was too much for the venomous reptiles populating Congress.

Robin Beard, the Tennessee representative who introduced the amendment denying veterans' benefits to those with upgraded discharges, has tried to play off those who made it through the military machine against "some of their contemporaries who got booted out on an undersirable [discharge] because they were just nothing but incompetents in many cases or troublemakers. . . ."

As far as the military brass was concerned, anybody who spoke against the slaughter in Vietnam was a

"troublemaker." Ralph C. Thomas III, a Vietnam veteran and director of the discharge review division of the Harvard Law School Committee on Military Justice, told the House Committee on Veterans Affairs June 27:

"An unpopular political opinion to the wrong superior officer was usually the beginning of the wheels being set in motion for a less than honorable discharge—regardless of the individual's competency or job performance. It is probably safe to say that during the Vietnam era more bad discharges were sparked by political considerations than during any other American war."

In any case, the real feelings of those who went through the war in Vietnam are quite different than the self-serving version cranked out by Beard and others on Capitol Hill. It was summed up in three sentences in a report in the June 28 *Washington Post* on a research project carried out by John P. Wilson, a Cleveland State University psychologist.

Wilson interviewed Vietnam veterans in the Cleveland area. "When asked, 'If there were another Vietnam tomorrow, would you serve in the military?' 95 per cent of the combat veterans stated 'absolutely not.' More than 90 per cent do not trust the government. Wilson reports that 'most of the men currently believe that the war was fought for economic purposes and that they were exploited by political leaders.'"

It is worth noting that the same Democratic-controlled Congress that voted to deny even the pretense of justice toward the victims of their policies in Vietnam, has continued to vote funds for projects such as the B-1 bomber and the Pentagon's latest killer weapon, the neutron bomb.

If people got what they deserved, most of those now sitting in Congress would be behind bars for war crimes. However, the representatives of the people seem to be well satisfied with their performance. On June 29 the House voted 241 to 181 in favor of a \$12,900 annual pay raise, after being assured that the Senate would follow suit.

all. The American government defends human rights around the world, but cannot seem to practice what it preaches at home.

Women, especially poor women, have always suffered at the hands of the law. The real issue is power: the haves vs. the have-nots. The men who make the laws in this land wield power and maintain control over the lives of women by denying them the right to choose whether or not to bear children.

To add to the injustice, women who are victims of compulsory pregnancy face further employment, housing, and financial discrimination directed at women with children. Until the attitude that women are second-class citizens changes and the law upholds women's rights, we are all enslaved. There are no free men without free women.

Betsy O'Connor Tomlinson
Doylestown, Pennsylvania

Clara De Miha

Many *Militant* readers will be saddened to know that Clara De Miha died on July 2.

I first met Clara in 1967 when we worked together in the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. At that time she was an organizer of the Jeanette Rankin Brigade, a women's group named for the only member of the U.S. Congress to vote against both world wars.

Clara was tough and dedicated, and she stuck with the antiwar movement's mass-action perspective, even when others were abandoning it for Democratic Party politics.

She played a similar role in the women's movement, in the fight against anti-abortion laws, and in the National Organization for Women, where she was a national board member for a time.

Clara had been at it for a long time and had been through a lot.

She was a longtime supporter of the Russian revolution of 1917 and of the future that socialism offered the human race. We talked about our common experiences that led each of us to the painful conclusion that the Communist Party had betrayed that revolution.

Clara was inspired by every sign that a new leadership was developing, and she worked with every movement and every organization that she could to help it along. She never lost her faith that the human race could, and would, rid itself of the war, racism, and sexism inherent in capitalism, and she never slowed down in doing her part to help.

I guess a lot of us assumed that she'd be with us all the way through. But even tough old Clara, at seventy-seven, couldn't win against the lung cancer that finally brought her down.

Clara shared many hard times and many victories with a lot of us. I'm glad I knew her, and I'm sure many others are too.

Some of Clara's friends in New York are discussing plans for future memorial activities, and will let *Militant* readers know when they are set.

Kipp Dawson
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



NYC schools flunk test

Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York. Before running for public office, Garza worked as a bilingual teacher.

Last month was the time for many public school graduations. It was a festive time, and relatives came from Puerto Rico to celebrate with the graduates.

But for students who didn't graduate, it was a terrible time. They endured the same indignities in school as their friends, but because they couldn't pass a reading test, they didn't get a diploma.

But that doesn't stop the capitalist politicians and newspaper columnists from shouting about how criminal it is to grant a diploma to someone who can't read.

I think anyone who has attended a New York City public school deserves a certificate just for having survived. Because the public education system isn't designed to educate, and it's especially unsuited for educating Puerto Ricans or other Hispanics.

Most of the stuff students have to put up with isn't educating them. It's only conditioning them to serve as part of the work force, possibly that part of the work force that is always unwanted by the bosses.

Recently the Education Commission of the States, a federally funded organization based in Denver, released a study that said students of Spanish heritage learn substantially less in school than do whites. The report also revealed that Hispanic students in the Northeast lagged behind Hispanics in the West in many areas.

In New York City one reason may be that the schools are so alienating that they have the lowest attendance figures of the country's ten largest cities.

Another factor is the number of students for each teacher. According to the New York Board of Education, from the 1974-1975 school year to 1976-1977, the

average class size rose from twenty-four to twenty-nine in elementary schools, from sixteen to twenty-one in junior high schools, and from twenty-two to thirty in high schools.

The capitalist politicians explain that there's no money, but the New York state comptroller just released an analysis of the New York City public school bureaucracy. "The comptroller's analysis of data from eighteen other cities showed that while the other cities operated their schools with a ratio of one out-of-school administrator for every 632 students, New York's Board of Education and community school district offices had one administrator for every 208 students."

That's not the big money, of course. The big bucks go straight from the city treasury to the banks. But it's an interesting statistic.

Another factor is that the New York City school system is segregated. Parents of Jackson High School students and the Jamaica NAACP are suing the city because of that.

And it's not only facilities that are segregated. At the end of last year, the civil rights office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare pointed out that New York City's school population is two-thirds Blacks and Hispanics, but only 13 percent of the teachers are Black and Hispanic. That's a substantially lower percentage than that of the five next-largest school systems in the country.

That's why if you go around to the Black and Puerto Rican communities, it's the junior high school graduations that are most celebrated in June. Because for many, that's the last graduation. And those that didn't even make it that far have a small consolation: they may not get a diploma, but they didn't have to listen to the speeches that promise so much and are so far removed from reality.

The Great Society

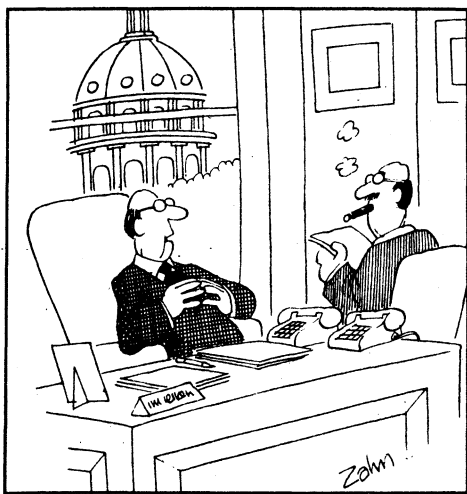
Harry Ring



Conservationist—Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina introduced a bill to suspend federal statutes providing for busing as a means of school desegregation. He said it would save millions of gallons of gas a year. And if they kept Black children out of school altogether that would save even more energy, right senator?

Progress report—California officials ruled veterinarians may not threaten to kill a pet because the owner can't pay the bill. Now if we could establish similar guidelines for MDs.

Gift item—We're late in reporting it, but to mark Carter's first 100 days in office, a New York department store



'Sure it's unfair to the little guy—he's the easiest one to be unfair with.'

was offering a silver-plated candy tray shaped like a peanut. Only \$15, and, we're assured, "tarnish-proof."

Texas style—The Texas House of Representatives passed a bill requiring six hours of study of "free market" economics to qualify for a bachelor's degree. For good measure, an amendment was added requiring a course in religion for graduation. Declared Rep. John Bryant of Dallas, "It's time to get religion back into our colleges. This is where we can determine who's a good Christian or Jew and who's not."

Formal logic—The Nader organization thinks it's a contradiction that the government officially frowns on tobacco

as a health hazard but this year is subsidizing growers to the tune of \$78.8 million, as well as exporting the weed to needy countries under the food for peace program.

Adjustment problem—Edward Zorinsky, newly elected senator from Nebraska, nearly quit during his first days on the new job, but didn't. Asserting that a lot of time is wasted on trivia, he cited the example of a two-hour Democratic caucus discussion on whether to end free haircuts in the Senate barbershop. The issue, he said, remains unresolved. Meanwhile, we trust, the solons are still getting trimmed gratis.

Women in Revolt

Claudia

The following is a guest column by Diane Wang.

This is a story about Claudia, a woman I knew for a short time five years ago.

In 1972 abortion was still illegal in most states. But you could get a legal abortion in New York. Women's groups and Planned Parenthood set up abortion referral services around the country to help women go to New York.

I was an abortion counselor. My job was to explain to women how the abortion was done in clinics and hospitals. I would tell them the procedure step-by-step, how it would take only a few minutes, how it was safe.

This was important, because until New York legalized abortion in 1970 you couldn't even say "abortion" without meaning "back-alley abortion." Women pictured abortion as meeting a stranger in some empty apartment, paying him hundreds of dollars, and trusting him not to botch the job.

It was also important to warn women how dangerous "home remedies" were so they wouldn't try falling down stairs, poking wires up their uterus, or drinking poisons to end an unwanted pregnancy.

Abortion was a serious decision for the women I

talked to. But most of them, it seemed, did not really feel guilty about choosing abortion. It was only because abortion was illegal, and safe procedures unavailable, that the whole thing seemed sinister.

Statistics at the time said one out of every four women would have an abortion some time in her life. So it was natural that abortion counselors met a cross section of women. All kinds of women wanted abortions for as many reasons as there were individuals.

There were women who loved the children they already had but for some personal or financial reason did not want another child. Women who couldn't give up their jobs without starving and others who wanted to pursue a career. Young women terrified their parents would find out they were pregnant.

I don't remember why Claudia wanted an abortion, just that she was desperate. Claudia was Black, in her mid-thirties, and poor.

That was the big problem—she had no money. Even if we could arrange a low-cost abortion in a clinic, she needed money to get to New York. It would cost more than \$100.

Claudia tried her friends, and I tried social-service

Willie Mae Reid



agencies. We were working against a deadline, since the abortion couldn't be done so quickly or cheaply after the twelfth week of pregnancy.

The last time Claudia phoned, we still had not raised the money.

"Never mind," Claudia said. "I've taken care of it. I drank a cup of turpentine."

"Get right to a doctor," I began to warn her. But she hung up.

I didn't have any address or phone number for her. For all I knew "Claudia" was not her real name.

So she became one of those statistics—one of the 350,000 women each year who turned up in hospitals with botched abortions. Or worse, she was one of the 500-1,000 women who died from illegal abortions each year. No one could be precise in those days about how many women were dying. Who would have known why Claudia, for example, had swallowed turpentine?

I've been thinking about Claudia lately. Now that the Congress and courts are banning Medicaid payments for safe abortions, there will be countless more like her.

We've got to stop these women-haters from doing this to our sisters.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

The Garden State

New Jersey. Third state to ratify the Constitution, second to legalize casino gambling, and first in cancer deaths. The Garden State is the pollution center of the Northeast.

Item one: A fat-rendering plant in New York City emits a powerful stench. The owners have been fined \$1,000. The city says if there's another complaint, it will shut the plant down.

That's OK with plant manager Albert Schneider. "We're leaving the city as quick as we can," he says, and moving to . . . New Jersey. "It's cheaper to operate there than here."

Item two: A bill in the state senate to ban sixteen cancer-causing chemicals was abandoned under pressure from the chemical industry and union bureaucrats.

Echoing the industry, the head of the state AFL-CIO said that banning the chemicals would be disastrous for the state's economy. He's apparently not worried about New Jersey working people dying from cancer.

Item three: the Concorde, the world's noisiest commercial plane. New Yorkers have thus far managed to keep it out of Kennedy Airport. But ever alert, Newark, New Jersey's Mayor Kenneth Gibson, a Black Democrat, said he would welcome the Concorde at Newark Airport.

Item four: PBBs, a group of highly toxic and perhaps carcinogenic chemicals. When they were discovered to have contaminated cattle and chickens in Michigan, the animals had to be slaughtered.

Now PBBs have been found in fish and soil around two New Jersey plants that manufacture them. The total amounts and their effects are "under study."

In this one small state, you can see just how badly capitalism fouls things up.

* * *

Some twenty environmental, antinuclear, and other organizations around the country released a sharp protest on June 18 against the Carter administration's approval of the cooling system for

the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear reactor.

"Jimmy Carter has turned his back on the environmentalist and antinuclear citizens who supported his election," the statement reads.

"In light of what is now happening around the country, it is not unlikely that this White House decision to approve the Seabrook cooling system will bring on a period of domestic turmoil over the nuclear issue similar in scope and depth to what surrounded the Vietnam War.

"That the Carter administration would allow this construction to go ahead is a declaration of war against the natural environment and those who are dedicated to protecting it.

"Jimmy Carter may be signaling with this decision that he will make himself the Lyndon Johnson of the 1970s.

"He has turned the EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] into a bad joke. It should be renamed the Profits Protection Agency. He has destroyed his credibility with those who supported him in the name of the natural environment."



Arnold Weissberg

New holes in case against Skyhorse, Mohawk

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The testimony of Marvin Redshirt, lone "eyewitness" in the murder trial of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, was a disaster for the prosecution. The supporting story of Redshirt's wife, Holly Broussard, didn't help any.

Broussard's testimony against the two American Indian Movement activists differed from her husband's on key points. She also made important new admissions about her own role in the events leading to the 1974 murder of cabdriver George Aird at a campsite some fifty miles from here.

She admitted participating in the torture and beating of the cabdriver before he was stabbed to death.

She testified that while Aird was being held in the camp office, she had cut off some of his hair.

She said that while the victim was lying helpless on the ground outside the office, she had kicked him four or five times "as hard as I could."

Why did she cut some of his hair? "Because he was being brutally beaten, and I wanted to be a part of it."

Cross-examination by defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Skip Glenn established that like her husband, she had lied extensively in previous stories to the police and had

done so "to protect myself." (Redshirt had also been removed from the stand for being drunk while testifying.)

Broussard did try to buttress her husband's testimony. But they have both told so many different stories that this proved difficult.

In one particularly important admission, she flatly contradicted Redshirt on where Richard Mohawk was when the sequence of events began.

Broussard testified that after returning by cab to camp with Redshirt, Marcie Eaglestaff, and two other people—all of whom had admittedly been drinking heavily—she got out and went to the camp office in search of a bottle of tequila she had left behind. After a few minutes, she testified, Mohawk came into the office to give her a written telephone message.

Redshirt, on the other hand, testified that Mohawk and Skyhorse both appeared immediately when the cab arrived and began cursing the cabdriver, sparking the events that led to the driver's death. It remains to be seen how prosecutors will square these two stories.

Broussard testified that after she had joined in kicking and beating the driver, Redshirt ordered her to leave. So, she said, she returned to the



Militant/Harry Ring
Attorney Leonard Weinglass speaking at defense rally.

dormitory.

Later, she said, she saw her husband racing up the hill. "There's a dead man in the camp," he told her.

And, she swears, he then added, "They killed him."

Despite their alleged innocence, however, Broussard said that she and Redshirt returned to wipe down the inside of the cab. She claimed that Mohawk helped, although she couldn't explain why he would have done so, since he had not been in the cab.

She and Redshirt then went back up

the hill and drank some more tequila. They hid under a building for three hours, she said, emerging when the police came.

Broussard and Redshirt were charged with the murder. Redshirt pleaded guilty to assault and was given probation. Broussard went scot free. Both got immunity.

In return they swore that the killers were Skyhorse and Mohawk, active builders of AIM, a target of ferocious government attack.

Broussard's immunity agreement was unique. She had to take a lie detector test without necessarily passing. And then, she never even took it.

Most astonishing was a piece of evidence that presiding Judge Floyd Dodson ruled admissible.

Broussard was carrying a knife when arrested. The cop who took it from her reported at the time that it had blood on it. Somehow, before it could be tested to see if the blood matched Aird's, the knife was "lost."

Some two years later, Broussard testified, the prosecutors' staff asked her to buy a duplicate.

Brushing aside defense objections, Judge Dodson ordered the second knife entered as evidence—without, of course, any "duplicate" bloodstains on it.

Interview from Angola prison

Gary Tyler: 'Justice doesn't apply to me'

By Joel Aber
and Gretta Biback

(First of a two-part interview)

ANGOLA, La.—"I stood up even though I was brutalized," Gary Tyler told us. "The man tried to make me say something that wasn't true," tried to force a confession for a murder he didn't commit. "But I stuck to my word. I'm letting them know, no matter what, they're not going to break me."

For two-and-a-half hours, nineteen-year-old Gary Tyler spoke to us through the bars of a cage here called the Death Row Visitors Shed.

The drive from New Orleans to the state penitentiary at Angola takes more than three hours. As the road winds north from Baton Rouge, it leaves civilization behind, twisting and turning through thirty miles of virtual jungle, the trees laden with Spanish moss. Suddenly the forest stops. The road ends at a grassy expanse flanked by two guard towers. This is Angola.

Inside the barbed wire of the prison compound, prisoners, mostly Black, marched double-file, huge shovels over their shoulders, sweat pouring down their faces in the scorching Louisiana heat. A guard on horseback rode beside them, with the ever-present cowboy hat and rifle.

The warden laid down the rules for our interview. We waited in an office, facing a rest room with a sign on the door, "Free people only."

With his hands cuffed and his feet shackled, guards brought out Gary Tyler and escorted us all to the visitors shed.

Tyler told us he had been back in Angola for three months, following his resentencing to life imprisonment at hard labor. His previous sentence was death in the electric chair. But the state's death penalty law has been declared unconstitutional.

Tyler told us he is the only prisoner not sentenced to death who gets visitors at the Death Row Visitors Shed. "All the other inmates get visitors at another visitors shed. They probably don't want me mixing with the other inmates here in this building," he said.

"They tried to make me labor, dig ditches. I told them I wasn't going to dig ditches for no man. So they put me in isolation. For refusing to work. But it's not that. They don't want me down on the yard because they figured I'd start something."

Tyler described the prison routine: "They keep us locked up twenty-three hours a day. For one



GARY TYLER

Militant/Joel Aber

hour, they let me out to shower, exercise, use the phone. The cell is the same as the cells on Death Row.

"They're small, eight by six. The toilets, they're corroded, totally filthy.

"To keep my mind off prison, I read a lot of books, do a lot of exercise."

He reads "about Marxism and revolution, and about Black history," he said.

Several months ago the New Orleans Socialist Workers Party sent Tyler books, including works by Malcolm X. We learned that prison authorities had found an excuse to take them away.

"I had to go in the dungeon for ten days," Tyler told us. The dungeon is a dark punishment cell. "So I left my books with the convict next door to me. They came and searched him. They saw he had my books, so they took them."

When Tyler asked for his books back, "They sent me around five Bibles. What am I going to do with Bibles? They wouldn't let me have my books on Black nationalism and Marxism, but they keep sticking me with Bibles."

Tyler gets a lot of petty harassment. The warden took his brothers and sisters from the visitors list. Tyler explained that his lawyer, Jack Peebles, is trying to get their visiting rights restored.

"A man could come here with great intelligence, a brilliant mind," Tyler told us. "But within a year they get him to turn against his own brother. They humiliate you here. They drive you crazy. A lot of guys here try to prove themselves, and then they get messed over.

"I don't try to prove myself. I run a whole lot

down to dudes about history. I don't argue with people. But one dude told me Malcolm X was a fool. And that started an argument. That man Malcolm stood up and died for what he believed in."

We discussed the legal status of Tyler's case and the U.S. Supreme Court's recent refusal to hear it.

"It was no surprise," Tyler began. "I know who I'm dealing with. What happened in the U.S. Supreme Court is the same thing that happened in the Louisiana Supreme Court and the district court.

"So I'm faced with the same man either way it goes. Justice doesn't apply to me. You can't win justice in the courts for a poor man."

Attorney Peebles is preparing a writ of habeas corpus to demand a new trial from the district court. He has to do this, Tyler explained, because "my first lawyer didn't give me the right representation. He sold me out. He didn't come to see me more than three times."

Jack Williams, the lawyer at the trial, made no attempt to get Tyler a jury of his peers. He never protested the all-white jury or the racist atmosphere in St. Charles Parish (county) during the trial. He let the prosecutor stack the jury with older whites, Tyler explained.

To win his freedom, Tyler stressed, his defense committee must mobilize support for him.

"Some people have been using my name for their own interests. If you're going to use my name," he warned, "use it to get the people to support me. Do it for me, because I'm fighting for my life. I'm fighting to get out of here. I don't have to face the electric chair any more, but my life is in great danger. I've got twenty years at hard labor without parole.

"Like I've told people, if they want to do something, get in touch with my mom. What she says goes."

Tyler's mother, Mrs. Juanita Tyler, heads the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, Post Office Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152.

Tyler gave us one final message, spoken with the same quiet confidence he expressed throughout the visit: "Tell the people, no matter what, keep the faith. I'm determined to fight, not only for my own case. My case is not unique. I'm depending on the people and only them, not the court system. The only way for me to be freed is by the people. They are my liberators."

(To be continued)

Socialist challenges Maynard Jackson

'A worker, not a strikebreaker, for mayor'

By Bob Green

ATLANTA—Most workers would jump at the chance to help fire a boss who had cut their real wages by up to 18 percent and tried to smash their union.

City workers here will get that chance October 4 when Maynard Jackson, Atlanta's first Black mayor, comes up for reelection.

This spring Jackson spearheaded a vicious union-busting drive against American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1644 when its members went out on strike. Eighty percent of the union's low-paid city workers are Black.

Jackson fired 1,000 strikers, some of whom had received only a single 2.5 percent pay raise in the previous thirty months. Their cost of living went up 20 percent over that same period. Jackson hired hundreds of scabs. In an alliance with the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, he forced Local 1644 to accept a bitter defeat.

On June 16, Vince Eagan announced that he will run for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket to challenge Jackson's policies. His campaign will champion the need for Atlanta working people to defend themselves against strikebreaking "friends of labor" such as Jackson.

Eagan, twenty-three, attended Morehouse College and Georgia State University. He is a former chairperson of the Georgia Black Political Assembly. He has been active in struggles against Atlanta's killer-cops, as well as on behalf of school desegregation.

Eagan is running on a slate with Laurie Perkus, twenty-eight, a board member of the Atlanta chapter of the National Organization for Women. Perkus is the SWP's candidate for president of the city council.

Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of AFSCME Local 1644, is chairperson of the SWP campaign committee.

Eagan told a June 16 news conference that Jackson's strikebreaking was only one example of his policy of selling out the interests of Black workers.

He pointed out that Jackson also backed down from a pledge to get Blacks a fair share of jobs and contracts at an airport expansion project, bowed to pressure against the con-



Vince Eagan (left) and Bill O'Kain at news conference announcing Atlanta SWP's mayoral campaign.

struction of a low-income housing project in a mostly white neighborhood, diverted funds from desperately needed housing in order to pretty up commuter rail stations, and spent \$2 million in city funds to bail out Georgia Democratic Sen. Herman Talmadge from a bit of downtown land speculation that went sour.

These actions have brought Jackson praise from some quarters. Richard Kattel, an Atlanta bank president, said in a recent interview that Jackson's handling of the strike and airport issues had solidified his standing among white businessmen.

Eagan noted that Atlanta is not the Mecca for Black rights that apologists for Jackson sometimes picture it to be.

Black unemployment averaged more than 14 percent here in 1976. Blacks' jobs are concentrated in low-paying blue-collar and service categories. Among major U.S. cities, Atlanta has the second-highest proportion of its

Black work force in these dead-end jobs.

Housing and schools remain intensely segregated—80 percent of the Metro Atlanta Black population is squeezed into 2 percent of the land area. Twenty-eight percent of the city's housing is substandard. The suburbs are more than 92 percent white.

To help change these conditions, Eagan and Perkus are calling for pay raises and cost-of-living escalator clauses for city workers. They demand municipal legislation guaranteeing preferential hiring for Blacks and women to achieve equality and eradicate discrimination. The socialists demand full maternity leaves with pay for women workers. They defend gay rights.

The SWP campaign says the city should raise money for needed services such as free twenty-four-hour day-care centers by making the rich pay a fair share of the tax load. They point to

studies showing that property tax rates in upper-class white neighborhoods here are much lower than in low-income Black areas. Moreover, the socialists demand the elimination of the \$115 billion war budget and the use of these funds to meet human needs.

But to achieve these goals, Eagan said, "working people and Black people cannot depend on a Democratic Party politician, no matter how Black his skin or how fine his words."

"We need our own party, a labor party based on the trade unions. Just as we wouldn't let the bosses join *our* unions, *we* shouldn't join their political parties," he said.

"A labor party, by championing the rights of all working people and fighting on behalf of the most oppressed," Eagan pointed out, "would also win powerful support from the Black community."

The socialists are urging AFSCME Local 1644 to run its own candidates against Jackson and for other city offices. "For too long," O'Kain said, "we have depended on 'friends of labor' like former Mayor Sam Massell or Maynard Jackson or Black Democrats like former Rep. Andrew Young and recent congressional candidate John Lewis to defend our rights."

"This strategy has led to one defeat after another," the AFSCME leader went on, "because these Democrats are leading the charge in the government's pro-big-business policies of attacking the rights and living standards of working people, Blacks, and women."

"We've allowed our real muscle to become flabby," O'Kain said, "our ability to mobilize our own power against the bosses' offensive in the political arena as well as on the picket lines."

"How can we urge people to mobilize against Jackson's strikebreaking after we've told them to vote for him in the election?"

"The answer is we can't," Eagan said. "We need a new strategy for labor. We need to stop fighting with our hands tied behind our back. A vote for the SWP is a vote for this new strategy of independent labor political action, for union power in Atlanta. This is a strategy based on our real strength, not on false promises from union busters like Maynard Jackson."

Ariza wins hearing at N.J. women's conf.

By Judith Lambert

PRINCETON, N.J.—Organizers of the New Jersey International Women's Year conference held here June 17-19 failed in their efforts to exclude Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Rich Ariza from addressing the meeting. Ariza's platform includes a wide-ranging defense of women's rights.

Conference organizers had invited only incumbent Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne and his Republican rival, State Sen. Raymond Bateman.

In response to this undemocratic exclusion, a number of prominent groups and individuals in this state lodged protests with IWY conference organizers. These were the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union, New Jersey Common Cause, Norman Threadgill of the Newark NAACP, Wray Bailey of the American Friends Service Committee Justice Program, Bill Maldonado of the Unión Estudiantil Puertorriqueño, and Judi Knee, a national board member of the National Organization for Women.

Knee cited the poor records of both

Byrne and Bateman on women's rights. "Women should be able to explore the views of all candidates on these issues," she said. "I am therefore opposed to the exclusion of any candidate. . . ."

These protests proved too strong for conference organizers to ignore. On Saturday, Clara Allen, chairperson of the conference session, explained that the IWY had received many calls and letters objecting to the exclusion of the SWP candidate. She announced that a telegram had been sent to Ariza inviting him to address the Sunday conference session.

When Ariza arrived the next day, however, he found that his talk was scheduled for after Byrne and Bateman had already spoken, answered questions, and left the stage. In protest, Ariza followed the panelists onto the stage with his own chair and sat down next to Governor Byrne.

The speeches of the Democratic and Republican Party candidates made clear why they feared a genuine debate with their socialist challenger.

Byrne tried to portray himself as a

defender of women's rights by listing the women he had appointed to state office. He did not explain that he signed a state law banning Medicaid payments for abortions in New Jersey, thereby dooming thousands of poor, Black, and Puerto Rican women to unwanted motherhood or dangerous back-alley abortionists.

Similarly, Bateman told the audience that he "loves New Jersey," but vehemently opposes women's right to abortion.

These positions angered many conference participants. During the question and answer period, many New Jersey NOW members challenged Byrne's and Bateman's stands.

Ariza was much better received. Applause punctuated his explanation of the SWP's support for the Equal Right Amendment, affirmative action, and abortion rights. He denounced the reactionary drive of Anita Bryant and other bigots against gay rights, urging participants to join the Christopher Street gay rights march slated for later that day.

After Ariza's talk, several groups of

women approached the SWP campaign table. Some came by to express their anger at the attempts to exclude Ariza. Others expressed a view increasingly common among activists in the hard-pressed women's rights movement. They said they intended to vote socialist next November.



RICH ARIZA

Militant/Lou Howort

Protest Miami defeat

Annual gay marches draw record crowds

Los Angeles

By Joanne Tortorici and Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Twenty thousand people turned out here for the June 26 March for Gay Rights. The march was organized by Christopher Street West and the Coalition for Human Rights, a broad-based group organized to transform the traditionally cultural parade into a political action.

Reaction to Anita Bryant's antigay crusade brought people into the streets in record numbers. Nearly 10,000

Last week's 'Militant' reported on the massive mobilizations of 250,000 gay rights supporters in San Francisco and New York.

marched. An equal number lined Hollywood Boulevard but were prevented from joining marchers by a police rule—brutally enforced at the march one year ago—prohibiting "spectators" from joining "parades."

A lesbian contingent, 1,000 strong, made up the most militant and vocal section of the march.

Chants of "Gay rights are human rights," and "Hey, hey, ho, ho; Anita Bryant has got to go," were passed up and down the line of march.

At the rally, writer and feminist Kate Millet won the warmest response of the day. "This is the summer we have it on the line, the way they

[Blacks] had it on the line in Mississippi," she said.

Jean Bendorff, director of the southwest region of the National Organization for Women (NOW), called for unity in the fight against attacks on women and gays.

Brenda Williams of the Coalition for Human Rights promised, "Never again will we walk back through the doors of those closets."

Sam Manuel, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, was interrupted by applause when he called Democratic and Republican politicians "enemies" of gays. "The defeat in Miami should teach us that the day we get out of the streets is the day our rights will be taken away," he said.

Ken Schnorrer, representing the Stonewall Democratic Club, followed Manuel. Shamefacedly mounting the stage; he took up the defense of President Carter, but had to admit, "Obviously, we are all very disappointed in President Carter—but we are working on it."

This empty promise met with dead silence. The silence turned to boos when he called on people to register to vote and thanked the cops for being so "restrained."

Other cities

A June 25 rally and march in Seattle organized by the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights drew more than 2,000 people. Sixty



20,000 turned out for gay rights in Los Angeles

Militant/Henry Snipper

groups endorsed the activities, including the Washington Federation of Teachers, American Civil Liberties Union, and Socialist Workers Party. Mayor Wes Uhlman declared the week Gay Pride Week.

A popular march chant was "Lloyd Cooney get out of the way; gay rights are here to stay," referring to a local TV commentator who recently attacked a Seattle gay rights ordinance.

The rally was temporarily interrupted due to a bomb threat.

An unprecedented 1,200 people joined the annual Atlanta Gay Rights March June 25.

"People are finally beginning to realize that if we don't get out in the streets and demand our rights, they're not going to give them to us," one marcher told the *Militant*.

Last year at this time, Mayor Maynard Jackson proclaimed Gay Pride Day. But this year, up for reelection, he refused to issue such a proclamation, bowing to pressure from the right-wing Citizens for a Decent Atlanta. The Gay Rights Alliance, organizer of the march, denounced Jackson's retreat.

Marchers carried placards aimed at Anita Bryant and her antigay group, Save Our Children. One sign read, "Save our children: defend lesbian mothers." "Bring Helsinki home; sup-

port human rights for all," read another, aimed at President Carter.

The only candidate for mayor to accept the invitation to speak at the rally was Vince Eagan of the SWP.

More than 1,000 demonstrators marched through downtown San Diego June 26. Many groups sponsored the protest, including: Gay Center, San Diego Action NOW, Metropolitan Community Church, Gay Nurses Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and Clerical and Allied Services Employees Union (CASE).

At the Balboa Park rally a representative from CASE read a resolution from the union in support of gay rights.

Demonstration organizers invited all participants to attend a meeting the following week to plan ongoing gay rights activities.

Protests against attacks on gay rights continued in Chicago with a June 24 rally of more than 150 people in the downtown loop.

Two days later the annual Gay/Lesbian Pride Parade drew some 6,000 participants. Sections of the crowd militantly raised the demand for gay civil and human rights.

In Philadelphia a demonstration for late July is being planned by

Continued on page 30

3,000 mourn murdered gay

By Nancy Elnor and Ann Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 27, 3,000 people attended the funeral service for Robert Hillsborough, a homosexual who was stabbed to death five days earlier by four young men shouting, "Faggot, faggot."

Strong pressure from the gay community forced police to act quickly in apprehending three suspects.

Gay leaders here say the murder was a direct result of the antihomosexual hate campaign led by Anita Bryant and others.

At a news conference before the services Helen Hillsborough, the victim's mother, said her son's death is "going to bring more people closer together. It's going to make more people understand homosexuality as I do now. . . . My son's blood is on her [Bryant's] hands."

Socialist urges gays: 'Keep on demonstrating'

Following are excerpts from a speech given by Joel Aber, a member of the United Teachers of New Orleans and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, at a demonstration of 6,000 gay rights supporters June 18.

Anita Bryant calls her crusade "Save Our Children." She says she doesn't want gay people teaching children.

Let me tell you, as a teacher I see a lot of children that need saving. Children who reach the ninth grade and can't read and write. What's Anita doing to save them? Children who come to school battered and bruised by their heterosexual parents. What's Anita doing to save them? Children who come to school hungry. What's Anita doing to save them?

The same crusaders who want to "save" children from gay teachers also want to "save" children from being bused to desegregated classrooms. They want to "save" children from the theory of evolution, sex education, and the twentieth century.

I'm proud to say that my union belongs to the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, which have both gone on record against discrimination based on sexual preference. One of the reasons teachers unions have taken that stand is because they recognize that. . . . if they can fire a gay teacher today, they can fire a teacher who is pregnant and unmarried tomorrow. They can fire a teacher who is an atheist, or a socialist, or a fighter for Black rights the day after.

Last week I was in Baton Rouge with women from the New Orleans NOW [National Organization for Women] chapter to demand passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. A legislator said that only homosexuals would benefit from the ERA.

These are the same legislators who passed a racist death penalty law and an antiunion "right to work" law last year.

They want Black people back on the plantation, women back in the kitchen, workers back in the sweatshop, and gays back in the closet.

New Orleans needs a civil rights

law that would prohibit discrimination based on sexual preference in hiring, housing, and public accommodations.

But I'm not here to tell you that voting for me will win your liberation. I'm here to support this magnificent demonstration. And I'm here to encourage you to keep on demonstrating.

You can't rely on the promises of politicians—even politicians who say they're for gay rights. The first priority of the Democrats and Republicans is to protect the profits of the rich, not human needs.

Jimmy Carter talks about human rights—in Uganda or Russia. But this rally is sending a loud, clear message to born-again Jimmy: Jimmy, it's time to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, to stop the racist mobs in Boston, and to realize full human rights for gay people. Enough talk—we demand action.

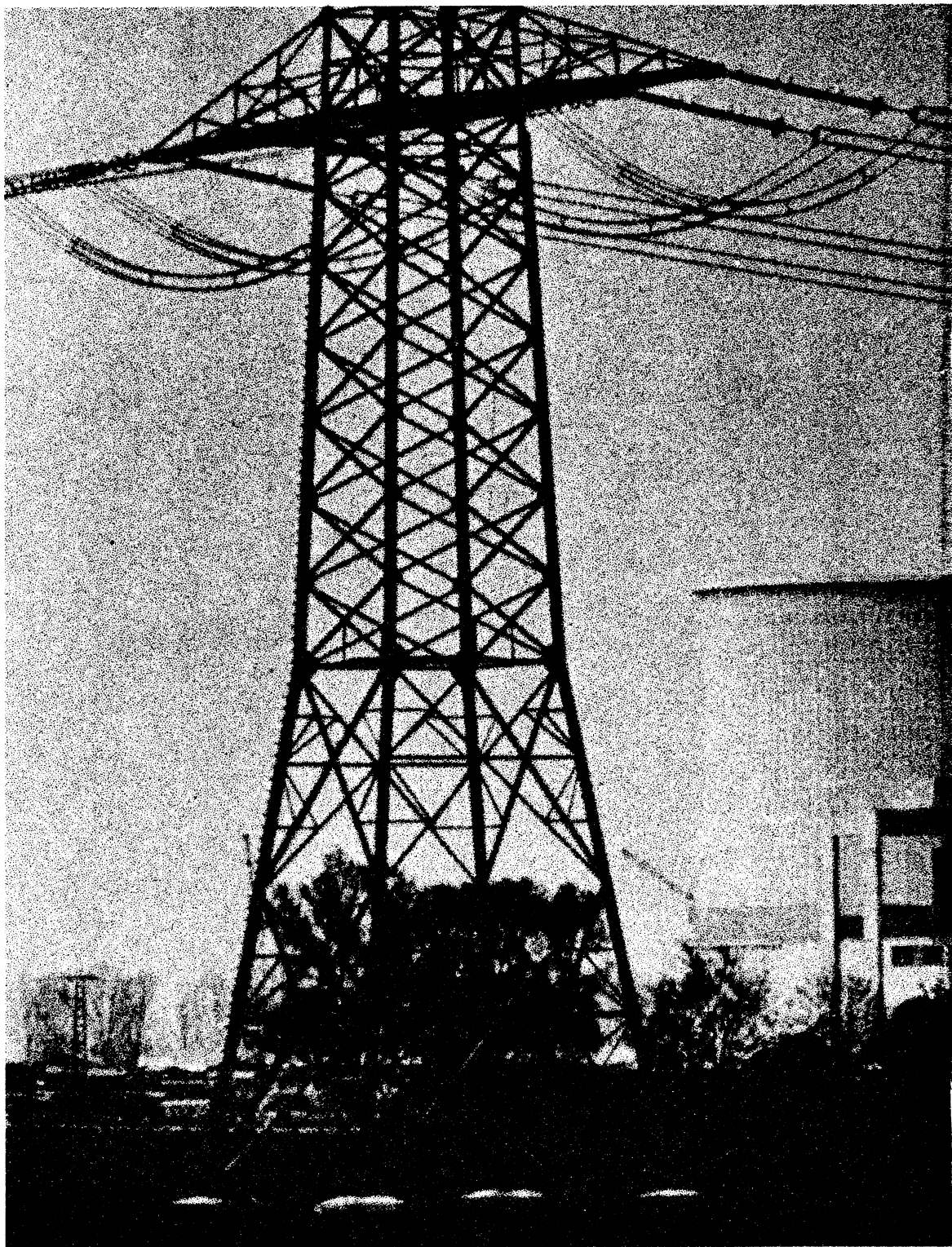
I urge you all to force the government to back up its talk with action. Rely on your own strength. Keep on marching. Keep on picketing. Build a national movement that can fight for equal rights and win!



Militant/Mike Alewitz

JOEL ABER speaking to June 18 rally in New Orleans.

NUCLEAR POWER A socialist view



Threat to human life

With 63 atomic reactors generating electricity in the United States, and the Carter administration calling for 317 more in the next twenty-five years, the question of nuclear power's safety has taken on a new significance.

The debate has picked up steam since the April 30-May 1 sit-in at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, site of a proposed nuclear plant. Cops arrested 1,414 of the demonstrators.

This debate is fed by the growing public understanding that nuclear-energy production is not safe. As a result, the movement against it is also growing.

This article, and a companion piece to follow, will explain what makes the production of nuclear power such a threat to human life and why socialists oppose it.

By Arnold Weissberg

On the night of January 3, 1961, Richard McKinley, John Byrnes, and Richard Legg, GIs assigned to a small nuclear reactor in Idaho called the SL-1, were performing what was supposed to be routine maintenance on the reactor's control assembly.

Unfortunately, it was anything but routine. Something went wrong—to this day just what remains unknown.

The central control rod—which keeps the atomic chain reaction from racing ahead unchecked—was lifted some twenty inches too far out of the

radioactive fuel core. That was enough to loose an enormous blast of steam, as the core heated up and boiled the water that normally surrounds it as a coolant.

The top of the reactor vessel blew off, killing Legg instantly. McKinley was speared by a piece of the control rod and impaled on the ceiling. He also died instantly. Byrnes, subjected to a massive dose of radiation, survived for a few hours.

Dozens of rescuers, trying bravely to save Byrnes's life, were themselves subjected to dangerous levels of radiation.

The reactor was so "hot" that days passed before

the two dead men's bodies could be removed, and twenty days before it was safe to bury them. Even then, they had to be buried in lead caskets.

This was the first fatal accident in a nuclear reactor.

Ignoring the SL-1 tragedy, the multi-billion-dollar nuclear industry and its government mouthpieces continue to assert that no one ever died in a nuclear accident—perhaps hoping that repetition will make it true.

This is typical of the lies and secrecy that surround the development of nuclear power. The cover-up is founded on the undoubtedly correct idea that if the American people knew the truth, they wouldn't stand for it.

The Diablo Canyon, California, nuclear plant is also in the middle of a storm of controversy. Its builders didn't bother to make public that it's only a few miles from an active earthquake fault.

When the truth became known, the utility insisted the plant was safe anyway.

The federal government has held up final approval of the Diablo Canyon plant. A demonstration against it is planned for later this summer.

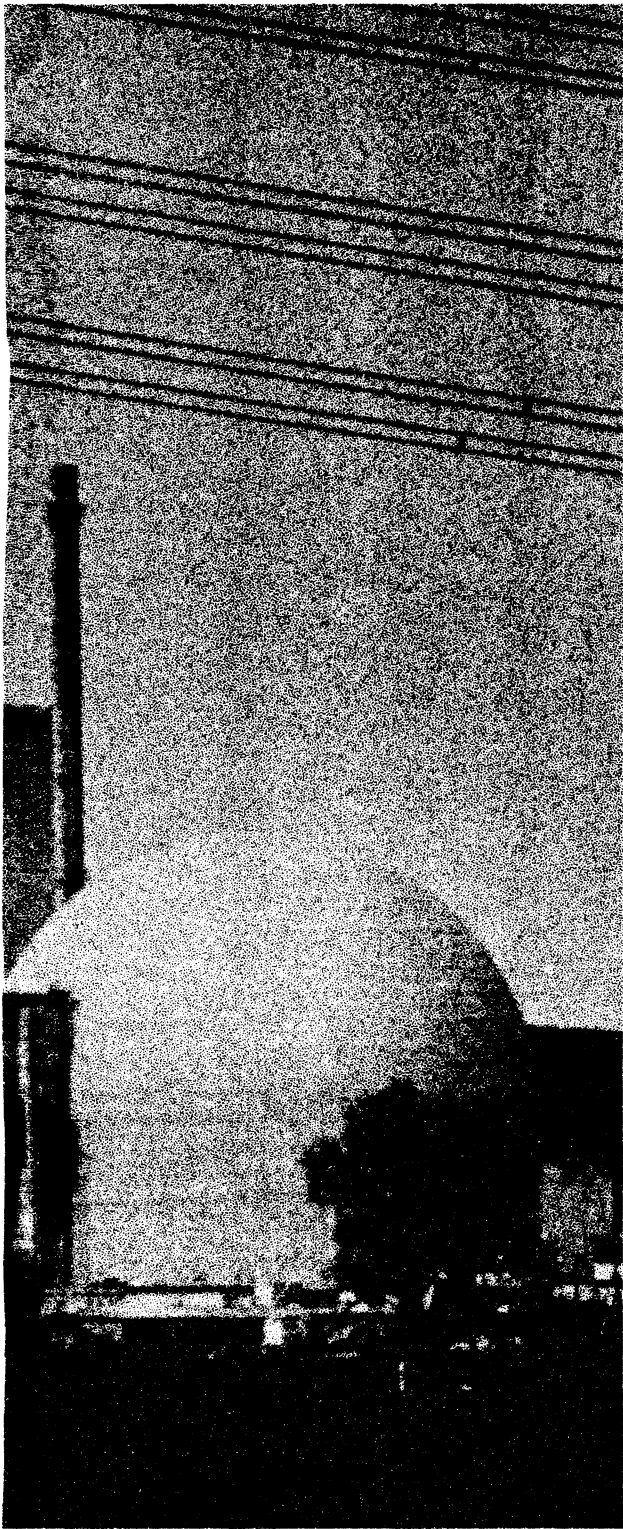
Every danger, every accident and close shave, every release of radiation is minimized by Washington and the billion-dollar nuclear industry. There have been 2,000 "reportable" accidents. Despite this, none has officially posed a health hazard.

In fact, these accidents are supposed to prove how safe nuclear power is—because even worse accidents *didn't* happen.

Radioactivity

Most of the ninety-two known elements that occur in nature are stable—their atomic makeups don't change. But some elements do change spontaneously. They throw off subatomic particles. These unstable elements—including uranium and radium—are the radioactive ones.

Radioactive elements are released by both nuclear explosions and nuclear reactors. A given amount of radioactivity is no less dangerous to life if it leaks from a reactor than if it is released by an atomic bomb.



An enormous amount of energy is released by radioactive decay. The nuclear reactor uses this energy—in the form of heat—to generate electricity.

All that a nuclear reactor really does—no matter what kind it is—is boil water. The resulting steam turns a turbine, producing electricity.

Nuclear fuel “burns” at about 4,000 degrees, many times hotter than a coal or oil fire. Since water boils at a relatively low temperature, a tremendous amount of energy is wasted.

Environmentalist and antinuclear activist Barry Commoner points out that using atomic energy to boil water is like using a cannon to ring a doorbell.

Radioactivity wreaks havoc with living things. It can be instantly lethal, or it can have long-term effects as a cause of cancer.

Radioactive elements turn up in only very small quantities in nature. Plutonium, a major source of nuclear energy, barely existed at all before it was created in a laboratory in 1940. Today thousands of pounds are loose in the world.

All nuclear reactors leak radioactivity. The government and the nuclear industry call this “low-level,” but the truth is that no one knows precisely what damage it can do.

One study, commissioned by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in 1969, suggested that “low-level” radiation would produce 32,000 new cases of cancer and leukemia every year.

Potentially dangerous radioactive material is lost every step of the way, from mining to waste storage. For example, scraps left behind after uranium ore is mined—“tailings”—have been used in concrete in the West. Plutonium manufacture is now on so broad a scale that it is impossible to keep track of it all.

Nuclear reactors

The most common reactor in the United States is the so-called light-water type.

All reactors have several features in common: a hot radioactive core, some means of controlling the reaction, and a method of transferring the heat from the superhot fuel to water, which is then converted into steam.

Reactors break down into two basic types: One uses more fuel than it produces; the light-water falls in this category. The other produces more fuel than it uses; this is the “breeder.”

The two reactor types have different fuel arrangements. In light-water reactors, the fuel is relatively loosely packed. Within the core are neutron-absorbing control rods and a liquid—water—that both cools the reaction and transfers the heat so it can be used.

(The term “light water” distinguishes the reactor from the “heavy-water” reactor, which uses deuterium, or heavy water.

Since the water surrounding the core would quickly boil away under ordinary circumstances, it is highly compressed. This extreme pressure often causes leaks at various places in the coolant’s cycle.

The Turkey Point, Florida, plant will be shut for two years to repair such leaks. The cost of the repairs will exceed the plant’s original cost.

LOCA

The radioactive core would melt if it weren’t cooled constantly. But what happens if the coolant can’t reach the core? Engineers refer to this as a loss-of-coolant accident (LOCA).

If the main cooling system fails, a backup system, the emergency core-cooling system (ECCS) is designed to take over.

Designing an ECCS means solving some extremely complex engineering problems. For example, even if it is left uncooled for a brief second or two, the core will turn tens of thousands of gallons of water into steam. This steam will be under tremendous pressure to escape the narrow enclosure in which it is trapped.

In fact, it will be under so much pressure that it may keep any new water from getting in.

No one knows if any ECCS now in use will work. One design failed in a model simulation six out of six times.

Core meltdown

If the ECCS doesn’t work, big trouble looms. The core will melt, all the water surrounding it will boil, and the steam could burst through the reactor containment vessel, reaching the outside air. This steam would carry vast quantities of radioactive materials.

Several government studies have tried to estimate the damage from such a core meltdown. There are a lot of variables, such as the wind speed and direction, other weather factors, proximity to cities or other populated areas, how much escaped, and so on.

An early study, conducted in 1957, estimated that 3,400 people would die from radiation, another 43,000 would suffer injuries, and some \$7 billion of property would be damaged.

A new study was commissioned a few years later, carried out by scientists from Brookhaven National Laboratories. It was based on the several intervening years of operating experience with reactors and on the fact that newer reactors were more powerful than earlier ones. The new study came up with frightening results.

It estimated 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, and \$17 billion in property damage from a major nuclear accident. It added that radioactivity would be spread over an area the size of Pennsylvania.

The AEC stifled the second report until it could organize a new one and make sure the findings would be more palatable for public consumption.

Prof. Norman Rasmussen of MIT took the job, and his 1974 report—while conceding that a very bad accident could have disastrous consequences—argued that the chances of such an accident were almost zero.

Nuclear scientists and statisticians blasted Rasmussen’s methods, however. So the conclusions in his report are highly suspect.

For example, Rasmussen claimed that there was a mere one-in-a-million chance of a nuclear accident that would kill 1,000 people. His estimates were challenged by the Union of Concerned Scientists, which argued that from Rasmussen’s own figures, the likelihood of a nuclear accident killing 50,000 people was one in a hundred thousand.

This is approximately the same risk of two fully loaded jumbo jets colliding—as they did this year on the Canary Islands.

A nuclear reactor uses astounding volumes of water to keep itself cool. The planned nuclear plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire, for example, will suck in 1.2 billion gallons of water each day from the ocean. This water will return to its source thirty-nine degrees hotter.

The increase in temperature may ruin aquatic life in the area.

The uranium fuel begins to be depleted in less than a year and has to be replaced. This is no simple matter, since the residue is highly radioactive. The waste includes isotopes of uranium, plutonium, and other radioactive elements. (Some elements that are not radioactive in nature may capture a neutron or other subatomic particle in a reactor and become radioactive—for example, iodine).

Since plutonium can be used as a nuclear fuel, expensive, but so far futile, attempts have been made to recover it from the spent fuel assemblies.

General Electric threw in the towel on a reprocessing plant in Morris, Illinois, after spending \$64 million on it. No reprocessing plants are operational now, and none are likely in the next few years. In the meantime, the wastes just pile up.

Unfortunately, too often they don’t stay piled up. Radioactive liquids have leaked into the soil. For instance, at the giant Hanford, Washington, nuclear complex 500,000 gallons of radioactive liquids escaped and came within ten feet of ground water.

This story had been repeated all over the country.

The biggest waste headache is plutonium, which has to be kept isolated from all living things for 500,000 years. No one has any idea how to do it, but plutonium also keeps piling up.

The reactors themselves last only about forty years. After that, they are so badly damaged by radioactivity that they have to be abandoned.

But you can’t simply walk away from a nuclear power plant. It must be entombed in thick walls of concrete, and humans must be protected against it for thousands of years.

These are some of the main problems that are inherent in nuclear power, and they pose a grave risk.

But additional, unexpected difficulties arise so often that it may not be entirely accurate to call them unforeseen any more.

Because radioactivity is such a menace, the reactors require the most complex safeguards ever built. Hundreds of devices—automatic and manual—are built in to prevent disaster. Radioactivity is kept out of the atmosphere by tons of steel and concrete.

Their complexity makes the plants difficult to keep operational because of the extremes of heat, pressure, and radioactivity to which they are subjected. They ran only at about 57 percent efficiency in 1976 because of operating problems. Pipes crack. Other things break. Control rods jam.

Despite the best technology capitalism can produce, nuclear plants are continually shut down for repair.

At the Brown’s Ferry, Alabama, nuclear plant, a worker went under the control booth with a candle to check for air leaks. There was a leak, and the escaping air drew the flame onto some control cables and ignited them.

The fire knocked out the main cooling system and the emergency backups, and left the operators helpless. A core meltdown was narrowly averted by rigging some pumps to bring in water.

The elaborate safeguards at every nuclear plant testify to their risks, not their safety. Not a single plant in the United States is foolproof. Each has been built solely to make a profit for its builders and owners.

The insurance companies evidently believe that. They won’t issue more than \$60 million in liability insurance on a nuclear plant—despite the fact that a serious accident could cause \$17 billion in damage.

The federal government offers another \$500 million in coverage. A federal law, the Price-Anderson Act, limits total liability to \$560 million. This is another example of the government financial support without which the nuclear industry would collapse.

But if nuclear power plants are so safe, why can’t their owners and operators convince their fellow capitalists who run the insurance companies?

At least one federal judge wondered the same thing and threw out the Price-Anderson Act. The judge argued that since the potential damage was \$17 billion, and the insurance coverage only \$560 million, the owners of the \$16.5 billion of property that wasn’t covered would be deprived of their assets without due process of law—a violation of the Constitution.

(Next week: Carter and the breeder. The antinuclear movement. Does the fight against nuclear power threaten jobs?)

Why U.S. rulers aren't cheering

Rift between Kremlin, Spanish CP widens

By Gerry Foley
From Intercontinental Press

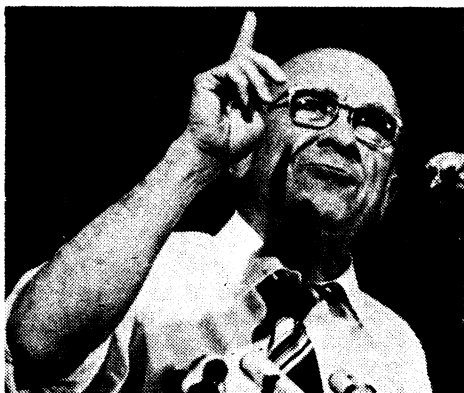
With the Kremlin's denunciation of Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo as a splitter and pro-NATO betrayer, the prolonged tug of war between Moscow and the West European and Japanese CPs seems to be rapidly turning into an open faction fight in the world Stalinist movement.

The Kremlin's attack on Carrillo is still limited. It was launched in a little-read magazine and has not been picked up in the major Soviet press.

The cutting edge of the article was also dulled by statements about the need for CPs to be able to adjust their line to the conditions in their own countries.

Nonetheless, charging Carrillo with being a splitter and a supporter of an "aggressive military alliance" aimed against the Soviet Union and the East European countries implies an attempt to drive him out of the Spanish CP leadership and bring the party to heel, no matter what the cost.

The Soviet attack was clearly aimed at all the CPs that have been trying to clean their skirts of the taint of dictatorial Stalinist rule by criticizing repression in the USSR and East Europe. However, so far only Carrillo and other such semioutcasts as the "interior" faction of the Greek CP have responded to it with any signs of



SANTIAGO CARRILLO: Spanish CP leader draws Moscow's fire.

determination.

The French and Italian CPs in particular have so far sought to avoid drawing fire in their direction. Despite this opportunistic wavering, all the "Eurocommunist" parties have a very large stake in the policies that have aroused the Kremlin bureaucrats. So, the conflict is likely to continue and may well escalate.

In any case, something more and more like an open faction fight has developed, directly involving the interests of hundreds of thousands of militant workers in the Stalinist parties in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as those of the workers oppressed by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies themselves.

This conflict is potentially far more damaging to the Kremlin and to Stalinism in general than the Sino-Soviet break, in which only the state interests of the two ruling bureaucracies were involved.

The rebel Chinese bureaucracy had neither the capacity nor the interest to make a serious appeal to workers in the advanced capitalist countries or in the USSR and East Europe. It was able to influence only the most ossified Stalin-worshippers, stray opportunists, and some radicalizing petty-bourgeois youth with a weakness for cultist escapism.

In fact, the prospect of the future disintegration of Stalinism has evidently alarmed the editors of the *New York Times*, which generally reflects the views of the most far-sighted sections of the American ruling class. In an editorial July 1, they wrote that one reason the "West" should not "pray for their [the "Eurocommunist" CPs'] accession to power" was the following:

... because sudden—as opposed to gradual—challenge to totalitarian power in Eastern Europe would be an invitation to uprisings that the West cannot fully support without unacceptable risk. . . .

Further on, the editorial said:

Vigorous and striving for power, the Eurocommunists are agents of corrosion

throughout Eastern Europe. Once elevated to power, and precisely to the degree that they became acceptable to democrats, they could destabilize the entire continent.

The *New York Times* editors, in effect, admitted:

1. One of the things that can rapidly bring down the Stalinist dictatorships is the rise of democratic socialist movements in the advanced capitalist countries.

2. The U.S. capitalists do not want to see revolutions against the Stalinist bureaucracies and have no intention of supporting them.

3. The prospect of socialism freed from the specter of Stalinist dictatorship will "destabilize" the present world order.

Assessing the implications of an international struggle in the CPs over the issue of democratic rights, the editors of the *New York Times* acknowledged the points bourgeois ideologists try hardest to cover up! This is a good indication of their agitation.

The complete breakdown of Stalinist authority, of the monolithic Stalinist machines, and of Stalinist mythology would, in fact, remove a major obstacle to the development and spread of socialist revolutions.

For the U.S. imperialists, as we can see from the mood of the editors of the *New York Times*, the very thought of such a possibility is unnerving.

National ID cards: lessons from Spain

By José G. Pérez

BARCELONA—Spain might seem like a long way to go to find out the real meaning of the proposal being batted around in Washington to give every American a computerized identification card. The supposed purpose of the card is to help you prove you're not an "illegal alien" when you try to get a job.

But Spain is a good place to find out about ID cards. Because what you're talking about here is not a smiling Jimmy Carter promising that the card is for your own good and will never be used for police-state repression.

"Without a card you can't do anything," says Miguel, a Catalan in his mid-twenties who is a central leader of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

"The simplest things become impossible. An apartment, a job, a car, a bank account, medical treatment. You constantly have to be on the lookout for police, and if there's a heightening of repression, you can't even go around town for fear of a checkpoint."

Miguel knows. He's been involved in the anti-Franco underground for more than a decade. He's been arrested six times, the first time in 1967 for participating in a demonstration. His longest prison term was two-and-a-half years for belonging to the Comisiones Obreras (CCOO—Workers Commissions), the clandestine trade union that flourished in the last decade of Franco's dictatorship. He also spent four years without the mandatory ID card.

Miguel explained that at the age of fourteen everyone has to get their National Identity Document, which has your photograph, your address, and other information.

Every time you move, you have to go down to the police station and get a new one. If you haven't moved for five years, you also have to go down and get a new one.

"The police keep very meticulous records of who is where, cross-indexed with fingerprints," Miguel said. "Everyone gets fingerprinted each time they get a new document."

I asked him if there was other information on the card, such as political information. Supposedly there wasn't, he said, but the cops have a code.

"See the X?" he said, pointing to his card. There was an X between his first and last name, as if the typist had made a mistake and struck over the wrong letter.

"Sometimes it's the spacing that is different. Any typographical oddity. It tells police you're a political activist and you've got a record. Employers also know the code, and it's used for blacklisting."

"This wasn't on my old document," he said. "But I just got this one a couple of months ago as a result of an amnesty."

"How did you lose your card?" I asked.

"The police took it at the beginning of 1973. I was in Bilbao coming from a meeting and the police stopped me." Bilbao is a city in Euskadi, the Basque country, an oppressed nation within Spain. Miguel lives in Barcelona, the biggest city of Catalonia, another oppressed nationality.

"They took me to the commissary and questioned me, but they didn't have records on me there, and they weren't sure I was the one they were looking for."

"So they told me they had to do paperwork, that I should come back the next day to pick up my document. This is very common, but I couldn't go back since they would have gotten information from Barcelona about me."

What does it mean to live in Spain without the ID card?

"It means you're illegal. You have to carry the document on your person at all times, and you can be sent to prison for not having it. You can't get a job. You can't rent an apartment. You can't get a driver's license. You can't get a passport. You can't have a bank account. Anything having to do with any kind of record, governmental or private, you have to have it. You're a non-person without it."

While an "illegal" Miguel had sever-

al close brushes with the law. "I was stopped at a checkpoint in 1974, but freed through a mix-up."

"Then I was very sick, and needed to be hospitalized. But I couldn't go to a hospital in Spain, so I left the country, got treatment, then sneaked back several months later."

Miguel came back carrying the passport of a South American country. "This helped, because one time when I was stopped at a checkpoint I faked an accent, said I was a tourist, and they let me go. But I still couldn't get a job or anything."

How did he live? "Odd jobs, day labor. The boss knows they can super-exploit you and you can't complain. Also, for a long time I worked for the League."

I asked him if the new-found democratic affinities of Franco's heirs—who just set up an elected parliament—meant that they would abolish the card.

"Are you kidding? They need it more than ever. Now that they can't arrest you for having a leaflet or belonging to a union, the repression has to become subtler and more coordinated."

"So they're talking about computerizing the document. It's the perfect method for police-state control. The government always knows where you work, where you live, what you do. They're talking about a computerized system that's been developed in the United States."

I told him in the United States citizens didn't have to have an ID card, but the government was trying to put one in, justifying it by saying there is a need to find "illegal aliens" and deport them.

"They're saying that in Spain, too. Nobody believes it has anything to do with immigrants. After forty years of naked dictatorship, people aren't fooled so easy."

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World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JULY 15, 1977

Dictator steps up police repression

Student demonstrations continue across Brazil

By Gerry Foley

Despite severe police intimidation, including the arrest of 800 persons at a student assembly, students demonstrated in cities across Brazil on June 15, demanding democratic rights and the release of arrested campus activists.

The current wave of mobilizations was sparked by the arrest of eight persons in São Paulo on April 28 on the charge of distributing leaflets advertising a May 1 demonstration. The first protests occurred on May 5, leading to a National Day of Action on May 19, in which demonstrations were held in sixteen cities. At a rally of about 8,000 in the University of São Paulo medical school on the latter date, a motion was adopted calling for a second National Day of Action in mid-June.

The government responded to the new student movement, which had been driven underground in 1968 by the jailing of hundreds of persons, with renewed massive repression. On June 4, in Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, the police arrested all those students in an area where a national student assembly was to take place. A total of 800 persons were hauled in.

Most of the students arrested in Belo Horizonte were released, after their identities were taken down by the police. Fifty-six were charged, and began to answer summons on June 14.

The government escalated its campaign of intimidation, aiming at preventing the demonstrations scheduled for June 15. The threats of the police and the obvious readiness of the authorities to use violence and make extensive arrests posed difficult tactical problems for the student movement. The press stressed those cases in which university student bodies were divided or called off actions. In a number of cases, students decided to hold indoor rallies, rather than attempt street demonstrations.

In São Paulo, where the new student upsurge began, the police mobilized in force to stop any demonstrations.

The secretary of public security, Colonel Erasmo Dias, was quoted in *Folha de São Paulo* as saying:

This rally has been banned. It is not going to take place. To assure this, we are going to take some measures. In this, we will observe two principles. The first is that authority cannot be defied.



SAO PAULO, June 15: Police use leather belts to beat protesters

Colonel Erasmo also staged an impressive display of repressive force:

Police women surrounded the malls, halting pedestrian traffic. On the walkways themselves, shock troops were stationed with shields and knapsacks full of tear-gas grenades. They were accompanied by police with thirty German shepherd dogs. On the sidewalks, there were military police and police in plainclothes.

Nonetheless, the São Paulo students managed to carry out their demonstration:

A student jumped up in the middle of a group on the sidewalk . . . shouting 'Freedom, Freedom' . . . This began the main march yesterday.

Various groups of students in the crowd assembled behind the one who raised the slogan of "freedom," and formed a quick-moving procession.

Once the march had started, the military police took some minutes to organize themselves, and then a group of about a hundred began to chase the students.

At the start of the chase, the military police drove the onlookers out of the road, spraying their tear gas into the air. The shops . . . closed their doors as the procession approached.

Some store clerks remained outside to applaud the students, and people threw confetti from the windows of the building. . . .

The students at the head of the line opened a banner, the only one on the march. It said: "Down With the Repression." Then they unfurled a Brazilian flag. And all of them shouted: "Freedom" . . . Seeing the police on their heels, they started shouting: "Down with the repression."

When a merchant closed his shop, about fifty students went in. But the military saw them and captured them all. Further on, four demonstrators were caught and forced to sit on the ground with their heads between their knees.

Near the corner of Senador Queirós street, the police attacked the most tightly packed group of demonstrators, who, at the height of the procession, had managed to form a line of about a thousand persons. The police took off their belts . . . and began to . . . use them as whips.

On the front page of its June 16 issue, *Folha de São Paulo* featured a photograph of two young female students lying helplessly on the ground, being whipped by beefy military policemen.

In Rio de Janeiro, a student march was also broken up by police, but it attracted considerable support, and obviously made an impact. *Folha de São Paulo* wrote:

The action virtually paralyzed downtown Rio. Thousands of persons returning from lunch watched the student mobilizations with interest. They were shocked and horrified when the police started advancing down the Avenida Rio Branco firing noise and smoke grenades. At least four persons were arrested, including a photographer for the magazine *Isto É*, Sérgio Sbrogia; a motorist; and some students.

The São Paulo daily noted that the students "were applauded when they shouted, 'Down with the rising cost of living.'"

Student strikes and rallies occurred in many universities and institutions of higher learning across the country.

The response of the Brazilian military authorities to the June 15 student

protests was in keeping with the brutality that has characterized this regime since its inception. (Full military rule was first instituted, for example, when parliament failed to lift the immunity of a deputy who called on the wives of officers to refuse to sleep with their husbands until they stopped torturing people.)

However, the response of the press and the people in the street to the student demonstrations indicates that there is a pervasive attitude of hatred and contempt for the regime. This feeling has spread to many layers of the population, including, apparently, shopkeepers. A number of well-known artistic figures, such as Ruth Escobar, participated in the demonstration. She was arrested in São Paulo with a group of actors and actresses.

In the June 8 *Folha de São Paulo*, even before the new displays of military bullying, Newton Rodrigues wrote:

They [the rulers] seem to be postponing forever recognizing the simple fact that with 113 million inhabitants, dozens of universities, heavy industry, and many other such things, Brazil cannot go on being run as if it were a big military school.

A situation in which an increasingly isolated military regime continues to try to terrorize a thoroughly fed-up and defiant population can quickly turn explosive. Such conditions existed in Argentina in 1969, preparing the way for a chain of mass urban uprisings that forced the military to hold elections, retire from government, and grant extensive democratic rights to the masses.



Biganti

London 'Sunday Times' investigation

Palestinians face 'systematic' torture in Israeli jails

By Steve Wattenmaker

The systematic torture of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails is a widespread and officially sanctioned practice, according to an investigation conducted by the London *Sunday Times*.

The rigorously documented findings, published as a four-page spread in the June 19 edition, leave no doubt that Israeli security forces in the occupied territories routinely use electric shock, prolonged beatings, sexual assault, and even more draconian forms of torture on Arab detainees.

Allegations of ill-treatment, if admitted at all, have been dismissed by Israeli diplomats in the past as unfortunate excesses.

"Every case of alleged torture or mistreatment is investigated very thoroughly by the police and by the courts," Gabriel Padon, a press counsellor attached to the Israeli embassy in London, told a British radio audience in early June. "Some cases have occurred where the police was found to have used excessive zeal in interrogation. . . .

"There is," he added, "absolutely no truth in the charges of torture, burning, electric shocks and all these."

A similar testimonial was recently offered by the Carter administration. In March the Senate made public a State Department report on human rights in eighty-two nations receiving U.S. foreign aid.

Of Israel, which received two-thirds of all U.S. economic and military assistance in 1976, the report said:

"The use of extreme pressure during interrogations of security suspects has been described in certain reports and may have taken place, although reports of the use of actual torture during interrogations have not been substantiated."

Denials by Israeli authorities and State Department apologists stand in striking contrast to the *Sunday Times* conclusion:

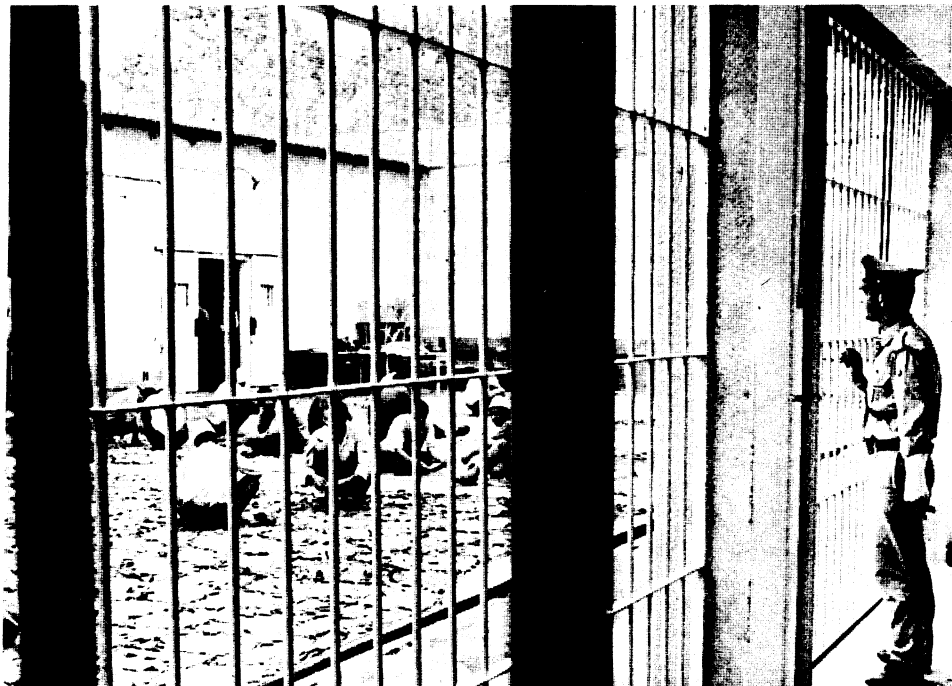
"Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy."

The *Sunday Times* based its conclusion on a five-month inquiry carried out by a team of reporters in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. They questioned forty-four Palestinians who were victims of torture. Many of them allowed the *Sunday Times* to use their names even though they still live under Israeli rule. In total the investigating team recorded 110,000 words of testimony, and obtained corroborating evidence wherever possible.

The case of Omar Abdel-Karim is typical, say the investigators:

Omar Abdel-Karim was arrested on October 3, 1976, as he was crossing eastward over the Allenby bridge, on his way to see his brother's wife in Amman. He was driven to the Russian Compound, known to Arabs as "Moscobiya"—the detention and interrogation centre in Jerusalem which houses Shin Beth and Latam and occasionally the border police.*

* All of Israel's security services are implicated: the Shin Beth, Israel's equivalent of the American CIA and FBI; Military Intelligence; Latam, Israel's Department of Special Missions, which reports to the minister of police; and the border police.



PALESTINIAN PRISONERS IN ISRAELI JAIL: 'Torture is organized so methodically . . . it appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy.'



ASHKELON PRISON: inhuman conditions provoked a hunger strike by hundreds of Palestinian inmates earlier this year.

Among the interrogators who questioned him the same evening were two whom he came to know as "Edi" and "Orli." They accused him of being one of the *fedayeen*. When he denied this, they beat him on the soles of his feet. Later, for about 15 minutes, he was hung up by his wrists. Then he was sent to a cell in the main prison block at Moscobiya. His feet were swollen; he crawled there.

After seven days of beatings in Moscobiya, Abdel-Karim was transferred in a closed truck to a secret location. He believed it was the army's secret interrogation compound at Sara-fand.

So far his treatment might be described as "brutality" rather than torture. But the new centre was more purposeful. Except during interrogation sessions, he was continuously hooded by a black canvas bag. Fresh interrogators took over, though Orli was also there.

Electricity was now used. Two thin, black leads were taped to Abdel-Karim with sticking plaster. These went into a black box, presumably a transformer, and from it a thick white wire was plugged into a wall socket. A button on the box switched the current on.

"It felt as though my bones were being crushed," Abdel-Karim said. "The most painful was when they attached the wires to my testicles. When the current was applied, I felt it through my whole body. After the shocks ended, I felt pain in all my joints. Every muscle ached and I felt that my nerves were exhausted."

Abdel-Karim says electricity was used at "eight or nine" sessions. But he says he continued to maintain his innocence. After 11 days he was moved again, to the prison at Hebron on the West Bank.

At Hebron, his old torturers were joined by a man who called himself "Abu Ghazal."

Abu Ghazal swung him around the room by his hair and, when it came out, forced him to eat it. "It stuck all [the way] down my throat. It made me want to throw up." Then he had to drink salty water. Finally, Abu Ghazal and a second interrogator forced a bottle up Abdel-Karim's rectum. . . .

"If I had anything I would give it to you," Abdel-Karim kept telling his interrogators. They did not believe him. He was kept under a cold shower; jammed into a barrel of freezing water; and suspended from his wrists once more while the interrogator Orli squeezed his genitals. "The mind cannot imagine how that hurts. It was so bad, it made me forget all the other pain."

The last assault Abdel-Karim remembers is being shut in a small cell into which some kind of gas was squirted through the judas-hole in the door. "I couldn't stop coughing. My eyes and nose were running. The whole world started turning round me." He remembers 'a piece of glass like a finger' which was finally slid into each nostril to ease his breathing.

Last November, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Jacob Doron, asserted that his country "can proudly stand by its record of scrupulously

observing the rule of law in the administered areas." Israel, he said, showed a "liberal and enlightened attitude. . . . Nobody is in prison because of their political beliefs."

Ironically, it is the extensive use of torture to extract phony confessions that allows Israel to claim it has no political prisoners.

According to the *Sunday Times*, Israel currently has only 37 political detainees. But nearly 60 percent of all prisoners in jail in Israel or the occupied areas are Arabs found guilty of "security offenses"—some 3,200 out of 5,800. Most of them were convicted solely on the basis of confessions.

Many of the confessions are forced under torture, defense lawyers are convinced. Yet almost without exception, the military courts that try security cases reject the contention. This allows diplomats like Doron to cynically ask, "What is wrong with the holding of trials and the conviction of those found guilty after due process of law?"

Ghassan Harb, a Palestinian intellectual and journalist on the West Bank, is an example of an activist that Israeli officials tried to silence by forcing him to confess to "terrorist" activities.

He was arrested in April 1974 and after fifty days in prison he was transferred to a secret interrogation center. His jailers told him he had arrived at the Palace of the End.

On Harb's account, his first meeting with his interrogator there ended abruptly. "We know you are against the authorities; tell us everything you know," the interrogator said. Harb replied he had no information. "All right," the interrogator said, "You don't want to speak." He gestured to the guards, who wore soldiers' uniforms. "Take him," he said.

In another room Harb was made to strip, given a military-type overall and photographed. Then he was brought back to his interrogator. He was to see him many times in the next 16 days. . . .

The beating began at once. "He sat on a table, I was on a bench and he began to beat me. Fifteen minutes, 20 minutes, beating with his hand across my face," Harb says. . . . Only one question was asked: "Do you want to speak?" Harb repeated that he had nothing to say.

At the end of that first session Harb, blindfolded once more [with a heavy cloth bag over his head], was led away. His handcuffs were removed, he was stripped of his overall, his hands re-fastened behind his back and, naked apart from the bag over his head, he was pushed into what he felt was a confined space. The door shut. Despite two air holes in the top of the bag, Harb feared he would suffocate, so by sliding his head against the wall he removed it. He found himself in a tiny windowless cell, the only light coming from a crack under the door.

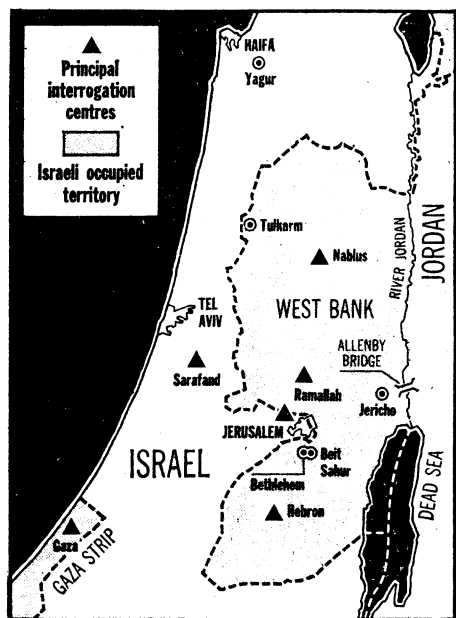
"It was really just a cupboard," he says. He thinks it was 60 cms (2ft) square, and no more than 150 cms (5 ft) high. "I am 178 cms and I couldn't stand up in it." Nor was it possible to sit down.

But the most curious feature was the floor. It was concrete, and set into it at close but irregular intervals was a set of stone spikes. "They were sharp, and they had acute edges. . . . I could not normally stand on them. I could stand on them but with difficulty and pain. I would lift one leg and put the other down, and then lift that one when it got tired and put the other down, and so on."

Harb thinks he spent three or four hours in "the cupboard" on his first occasion. . . .

Harb was interrogated in the Palace of the End for seventeen days. In addition to beatings and confinement in the spiked-floor box, he was made to crawl naked around a courtyard filled

World news notes



London Sunday Times

with small stones while being kicked and punched by his tormentors.

The *Sunday Times* corroborated many of the details of Harb's account through their interviews with others who had been detained. Investigators rated Harb a credible witness and concluded that the treatment he received was not exceptional.

Among the other Palestinians willing to testify publicly were:

- **Fawzi Abdel-Wahed Nijim**—Arrested July 1970. Tortured at Sarafand and set on by dogs. Arrested again in July 1973. Confessed to guerrilla activity after beatings in Gaza prison. Released in July 1975.

- **Zudhir Al-Dibi**—Interrogated in Nablus for ten days after his arrest in 1970. He was whipped and beaten on the soles of his feet, had his testicles squeezed, and was hosed with cold water. Confessed to distributing leaflets and served seven years in prison.

- **Shehadeh Shalaldeh**—Interrogated for five days at Mosco-

biya in 1969. Ball point pen refill was pushed into his penis. Sentenced to life imprisonment, but released in 1976 because of heart illness.

- **Jamil Abu-Chabiyr**—Arrested in February 1976 and held in Mosco-biya. Beaten on the head, body, and genitals. He was also forced to lie in cold water, and needed hospital treatment when released after eight days of detention.

The reaction of the Israeli government to the *Sunday Times* exposé was predictable. Tel Aviv's new ambassador to Britain, Avraham Kidron, attacked the article as a "dastardly report," according to a story in the June 21 *Jerusalem Post* international edition.

In private, however, Zionist officials surely feel the bitter sting of the *Sunday Times* revelations. The findings will be difficult for the Zionists to dismiss as "Arab propaganda."

Anticipating Tel Aviv's anger, an editorial in the same issue of the *Sunday Times* sought to placate the Begin government.

"Six years ago we published a report on interrogation in Northern Ireland which led to the banning of those practices by the British government, and the removal of a little of the poison in Anglo-Irish relationships. The report we publish today will, we hope, cause Israel to rethink its occupation policies and remove a little of the poison between Jew and Arab."

There is no indication that the Israeli government is about to adopt the *Sunday Times*'s prescription for "winning the hearts and minds" of the oppressed Palestinians. Tel Aviv is committed to the use of systematic repression, which includes the use of torture, as the *Sunday Times* well knows from the long experience of British imperialism in the subjection of other peoples.

Police attack Arab students in Haifa

By Peter Seidman

Israeli police and intelligence officials launched a four-day campaign of brutal attacks and harassment against Arab students at Haifa University beginning June 5.

The attacks were aimed at blocking traditional June 5 student protests against the illegal occupation of Arab lands by Zionist forces since the June 1967 Mideast war.

The university administration set up the police attacks by turning down a request by the campus Arab Students Organization (ASO) for permission to hold a peaceful protest.

The police came on campus the morning of June 5 and began a day of terror tactics. They took Azmi Bishara, a member of the ASO, down to the police station. There, Bishara was threatened with arrest if any protests took place. Later the cops blockaded the university while patrol cars roved the campus, frightening Arab students.

When some 300 Arabs—joined by some Jewish students—finally held an indoor sit-in to protest these police tactics, they were surrounded by a force of some seventy cops and border guard members armed with clubs and firearms. The cops attempted to provoke a confrontation by jeering racist remarks at the

Arab protesters. A number of university lecturers joined the students to show their disgust with the police behavior.

That evening the cops searched the rooms of Arab students. At 6:00 p.m., a military explosive went off under the window of the rooms of some female Arab students, four of whom were later rudely interrogated by police.

The police continued patrols of the campus for several more days. During this time at least seven students were arrested. In an attempt to justify these arrests, the administration announced plans to take the ASO to court for "inciting to disorder."

On June 7, the National Committee of the Arab Students protested these attacks, urging increased "struggle for ensuring democratic rights for both Arabs and Jews. . . ."

In the United States, the Massachusetts Committee for Human Rights in Jerusalem is circulating a letter to Israeli authorities protesting the attacks at Haifa University.

For a copy of the protest letter or for more information, write: Massachusetts Committee for Human Rights in Jerusalem, Post Office Box 368, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Palestinian vote in Israel

The deepening radicalization of Arabs living in Israel can be discerned in the results of the May 17 Israeli election.

Statistics published in the June 14 international edition of the *Jerusalem Post* show that, of the 145,000 Arabs who went to the polls, 47 percent cast their votes for an electoral front headed by Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party. This compares to 38 percent received by the CP in the December 1973 election. The increase was sufficient to give the CP one more seat in the Israeli parliament.

If anything, CP participation in the front diminished its potential impact among Palestinian voters—especially youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, many of whom were voting for the first time.

Among the CP's electoral allies were Arab mayors who were discredited for collaborating with the Zionist government. The front also stood for outright support for the Israeli state, masking this view with left-wing rhetoric.

Having rejected the Zionist parties, but feeling betrayed by the policies of CP-led bloc, many Arab voters evidently chose to sit out the election. The *Jerusalem Post* calculated that the turnout among Palestinian voters—about three-quarters of those eligible—was the smallest ever.

Kasemann murdered in Argentina

Elizabeth Kasemann, a 29-year-old West German citizen, was shot to death by Argentine security forces three months after her detention by the Videla regime.

Kasemann was abducted March 9 and held in an unofficial detention center where she was tortured, according to "firm information" received by Amnesty International.

Despite inquiries, there was no indication of Kasemann's whereabouts until a June 1 army communiqué announced that "16 leftwing guerrillas had been killed in an army raid in Monte Grande," a town seventeen miles from Buenos Aires. Kasemann's was the only name given.

In a cable to Argentine President Jorge Videla June 15, Amnesty International asked the Argentine government to explain how Elizabeth Kasemann came to be shot while in the custody of Argentine security forces. The human-rights group also called on the authorities to "halt the current practice of unacknowledged detentions, torture and killings of hundreds of individuals in Argentina."

The exact number of persons kidnapped by the dictatorship in the fourteen months since the coup is unknown. Church sources suggest, however, that the figure may be as high as 17,000.

Anti-Semitic attacks in Argentina

A Buenos Aires synagogue was bombed for the second time in two weeks May 24, as a new wave of anti-Semitic attacks erupted in Argentina.

A number of prominent Jews have been accused of involvement in "the Graiver affair," a financial scandal revolving around the Peronist guerrilla group Montoneros.

David Graiver, a banker accused of investing Montonero ransom money, was himself a Jew. He died mysteriously in Mexico in 1976. A rightist monthly, *Cabildo*, featured an article last month on Graiver and the "Jewish-Marxist-Montonero" connection.

Former Finance Minister José Ber Gelbard, who faces arrest in the affair, is Jewish.

Jacobo Timerman, publisher of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* and an outspoken member of the Argentine Jewish community, is under arrest in the case.

Until this most recent anti-Semitic eruption the 400,000-member Argentine Jewish community has by and large tried to work behind the scenes to combat the prejudice. On May 2, however, Nehemias Resnizky, president of the Delegation of Jewish Associations in Argentina, issued a statement, later made public, in which he said, "Our enemies must realize that there are no passive and silent Jewish masses any more."

Breytenbach faces new charges

Breyten Breytenbach, a well-known Afrikaans-language poet in South Africa, has been brought to trial on new charges under the draconian Terrorism Act.

Appearing in court June 20, he pleaded not guilty to charges of having sought to actively oppose the white-supremacist regime from his cell in Pretoria Central Prison. Breytenbach was sentenced to a nine-year prison term in 1975 on charges of plotting an armed insurrection against the Vorster regime.

Peruvian students protest austerity

Students demonstrated in at least five Peruvian cities in protest against government austerity measures, according to a June 22 Reuters dispatch.

Hundreds of students were arrested for denouncing the measures, which included a 50 percent rise in gasoline prices and a 30 percent hike in transit fares. Food prices also rose.

In Sicuani, 450 miles southeast of Lima, 3,000 students protested at the offices of the Agriculture Ministry and at the mayor's residence before being dispersed with tear gas. Demonstrators in Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, blocked off streets and erected barricades.

Demonstrations were also reported in the southern cities of Ayacucho and Urubamba, as well as in Trujillo on the northern coast.

Quebec revolutionists on French language bill

[The following statement by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League) was submitted to the Parliamentary Commission on Bill No. 1. It was published in the June issue of *Libération*, a Montréal monthly newspaper that presents the views of the LSO. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA) is a binational organization fighting for an independent socialist Québec. We support the struggle for the language rights of the French-speaking people, both in Québec and in English Canada.

We are in agreement with the principle expressed in the white paper on Québec's French-language policy: "The Québec we want to build will be essentially French. The fact that the majority of Québec's population is French will at last be clearly visible: on the job, in the media, in the landscape. . . . There will no longer be any question, then, of a bilingual Québec."

We are, therefore, deeply committed to the struggle for a French Québec. However, we do not believe that the Québécois can achieve this goal through Bill No. 1.

The white paper rejects the notion that English speakers have "established rights" in Québec, and rightly so, because these "rights" are privileges that have been won and maintained with the help of the confederation.

The English-speaking minority benefits from maintaining the oppression of the French-speaking majority. Even English-speaking workers have privileges relative to French-speaking workers. English speakers have access to better jobs, better schools, better hospitals, and so on. The network of English-speaking hospitals, schools, radio and television stations, and so on, is part of the "established rights" of the English speakers.

Getting rid of these "established rights" does not mean getting rid of or driving out the English speakers, as some of them fear. It is simply a question of abolishing their privileges.

But the white paper does not propose to abolish these privileges; it supports the maintenance of all these institutions, at the expense of French speakers.

The latest census, taken in 1971,

showed that 3,000 persons had become French speaking in Québec over the last ten years, while 99,000 persons had become English speakers.

These figures eloquently describe the situation. The rights of French speakers have been trampled on. Special measures are necessary to turn this around. The French language and Québécois culture are clearly under attack. This is in no sense true of English.

The white paper lumps all "minority groups" together. However, being a member of a minority does not necessarily mean being oppressed.

French speakers, whether in the minority in English Canada, or the majority in Québec, suffer national oppression.

The Inuits, Indians, and Blacks are victimized by the racism of this society. And certain ethnic groups, such as the Italians and Greeks, suffer discrimination.

But English speakers in Québec are treated best of all, even though they are a minority. The Québécois are simply demanding that their language be given the same status as that enjoyed by the language of the majority in most other countries.

The maintenance of the English public school system, as proposed by Bill No. 1, is unacceptable.

The white paper points out: "As the language of business, and often a job requirement, as the language of social advancement, English holds an understandable attraction for immigrants." If given the choice, nearly all English speakers, a good number of immigrants, and a sizable minority of French speakers who are eligible to attend English schools, as proposed by Bill No. 1, will continue to do so.

This proposal maintains the division between English speakers on one hand, and recent immigrants and French speakers on the other. Such a law would discriminate against French speakers, who are the only ones who would be denied access to "advancement" on the job.

As long as English public schools exist, the employers will have an excuse for giving preference to those who have been educated through English.

As the only equitable solution to this dilemma, the LSO calls for establishing a single public school system, secular and French, for everyone. Various trade-union bodies, such as the Québec Teachers Federation and



QUEBEC FEDERATION OF LABOR DEMONSTRATION: 'The struggle against linguistic oppression cannot be separated from the struggle for national and social liberation.'

the Confederation of National Trade Unions, have also adopted positions along these lines.

Representatives of the Italian community and other ethnic groups have declared their willingness to accept this type of school system.

Of course, a transition period will be necessary. The government must make every effort to make it easier for English speakers to learn French, by instituting French courses for those now enrolled in the English school system, as well as for all adults who wish to take advantage of them.

English could be taught as an elective second language. Under these circumstances, many persons would probably decide to learn English, which is an important language elsewhere in North America. Others, perhaps, would prefer to learn Spanish, the language of the majority of the population in the Americas. But they would study these other languages voluntarily, and not because they were forced to learn them.

On the basis of 1971 census statistics, a study recently conducted by Professor François Villaincourt of the University of Montréal shows that French speakers still suffer linguistic oppression.

According to this study, French speakers are at the bottom of the wage scale. This represents an erosion of their position relative to 1961.

Even those French speakers who are bilingual earned 19% less than unilingual English speakers in 1971. English speakers made up 14 percent of the population, but held 31 percent of the administrative positions.

But the steps proposed by Bill No. 1, aimed at making French the language of work, are very vague.

Bill No. 1 proposes setting up tripartite committees (made up of government, employers, and workers) to settle the problems of applying the law. The LSO thinks that workers should supervise application of the law, and that

they should have the right to strike when faced with linguistic discrimination.

The draft law proposes farcical fines, up to \$5,000, for companies that disobey the law. We think that it would be better to nationalize the corporations that refuse to carry out the changeover to French. No exceptions should be made for corporation headquarters, as proposed by the bill.

The banks and corporations that take their capital out of Québec should also be nationalized. If Power Corporation, the Royal Bank, Sun Life, Pratt & Whitney, CIL, Bell Canada, and so on, refuse to accept workers who speak French on the job, nationalize them! Let's put a stop to the blackmail tactics of these companies and their "economic terrorism!"

These are a few examples of the steps proposed by the LSO. But the struggle against linguistic oppression cannot be separated from the struggle for national and social liberation. As long as Québec is ruled by Canadian and American imperialism, the Québécois will be oppressed and their rights will be trampled under foot.

In the last analysis, the Parti Québécois government acts in the interests of the capitalists. The workers are the only class capable of successfully waging the struggle for real independence and socialism.

This is why the LSO is participating in the campaign to get the unions to launch a labor party, a party capable of leading the struggle for independence and for a workers' government.

In addition to taking immediate steps toward forming such a party, the unions should take the lead in the struggle for national and language rights. They should organize public meetings and street demonstrations to answer the chauvinist campaign aimed at denying the Québécois their right to self-determination.

Such actions will contribute most to achieving the goal of a French Québec.

Mexican cops kidnap and torture medical strikers

[The following excerpts are from an article scheduled to be published in the June 26-July 10 issue of *Clave*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Mexico City. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

On June 8, three physicians were kidnapped in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, in the state of Chiapas. They are Rolando Ruiz Cepeda, of the Regional Hospital of Tuxtla; José Fernando Miranda, of the Hospital of San Cristóbal de las Casas; and Jaime Page, a resident of Huixtlán.

These three militants are leaders of the movement of interns and residents

in the social service (unpaid work, obligatory for all medical-school graduates) in Chiapas. They are also members of the National Representative Council of the National Union of Interns and Medical School Graduates in Social Service (UNMISSE).

Rolando Ruiz is also a member of the Liga Socialista [a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico].

The three were kidnapped as they were leaving a cafeteria. Several armed men forced them to get into an automobile. In reply to the comrades' questions, the kidnappers identified

themselves as members of the Judicial Police, whose identity badges they were wearing.

The comrades were blindfolded and driven around in circles. Then they were brought to a police hideout, where the police proceeded to beat and torture Rolando Ruiz. The three were finally turned loose in Tierra Blanca, in Veracruz, on June 10.

What was behind this kidnapping?

The doctors' movement in Chiapas reached its high point on June 4, when the interns and doctors in the social service went out on strike. Their main

demand was for better medical services and facilities.

On the day of the kidnapping, a rally held in Tuxtla was attended by hundreds of persons.

The kidnapping of Ruiz, Miranda, and Page was obviously intended to decapitate the struggle and crush it.

The fact that those guilty have not yet been apprehended and punished reveals the government's complicity in this crime. The president of the republic or the attorney general must reveal the names of the Judicial Police officers who kidnapped the three leaders and tortured Rolando Ruiz.

New Mexico Raza Unida announces 1978 slate

By Cindy McCarver

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—The New Mexico Raza Unida Party announced June 20 that it will run Isabel Blea for governor, Juan José Peña for U.S. Senate, and Larry Hill for attorney general in the 1978 election.

At a news conference announcing the campaign, Blea, RUP state chairperson, pointed out that even though the state's current governor, Jerry Apodaca, is a Chicano, the problems facing Chicanos here haven't been solved.

She noted that Chicanos still suffer from racist education, poor housing, and high unemployment.

Blea added that the allegiance of past governors has been to the rich who financed their campaigns. The RUP is a party of working people, she explained, and her allegiance is to her supporters.

Peña attacked the Democrats and Republicans for their indifference to

New Mexico's working people. He said that the "most critical problem" in the state is unemployment.

He underlined the need to build low-cost housing and to develop energy sources safer than nuclear power.

He said he favored an open border with Mexico and unlimited immigration. Deporting undocumented workers, he said, creates "a class of citizens who are essentially the same as slaves."

Full employment can be achieved, Peña explained, by instituting a program of public works. In fact, he noted, a public works program would probably run up against a labor shortage.

Blea added that New Mexico's rich natural resources should be tapped in such a way as to benefit the state's Chicanos, not just big corporations.

Peña will run against Apodaca, a Democrat, and incumbent Republican Pete Dominici, a veteran politico.



ISABEL BLEA

Militant/Cindy McCarver



JUAN JOSE PEÑA

Militant/Cindy McCarver

Candy from a baby

Carter's welfare 'reform'

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—"It's as easy as taking candy from a baby."

Perhaps that old saying occurred to Jimmy Carter when he worked out his "reform" of the welfare system. After all, 8 million of the 11.2 million people receiving basic welfare payments in the United States are children of school age or younger. They are the ones—along with their mothers, the old, the blind, and the disabled—who are the targets of Carter's new plan.

A sleazy trick

Carter's first move on the welfare front came April 5. "Carter Asks End to Requirement That Poor Pay for Food Stamps," the *New York Times* announced. However, this seemingly progressive move turned out to be a sleazy, two-faced trick. What Carter gave with one hand, he took away with the other.

Elimination of the initial cash outlay for the stamps will open up the program to an estimated 2.5 million people who were too poor to purchase the stamps in the past. But Carter insisted that the overall price of the program remain the same. That means throwing 1.5 million recipients off the food stamp program and reducing benefits paid to almost one-third of all eligible families.

Charles Ream of Pittsburgh, one victim of Carter's first reform, is a former coal miner. His hip, pelvis, and left leg were crushed in a mining accident five years ago.

"It's not my fault I got pinned down there," Ream told *New York Times* reporter William K. Stevens. Nevertheless, Ream and his family will no longer be eligible for food stamps.

In any case, if Carter's overall welfare plan is approved by Congress, the food stamp program will be eliminated. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano outlined the Carter administration's proposal May 25. Under the new plan, a family of four with only one parent would generally be granted cash payments amounting to \$4,200 a year.

These cash payments, which would replace all other forms of federal aid, come to less than half the Labor Department's \$9,700 figure for a "minimum but adequate" budget for a family of four. They are also considerably below the \$5,500 level recognized by the federal government as the poverty line.

A family of four with two parents would receive \$2,300 a year, as would a single-parent family of four with no small children. In most cases, one of the parents would be required to accept a job at substandard wages in order to receive aid.

Worse than Nixon's plan

If anything, Carter's welfare program is worse than the "Family Assistance Plan" (FAP) proposed by Richard Nixon in 1969. Nixon also proposed a flat guaranteed income of \$2,400 a year in 1969 dollars. That is equivalent to about \$4,000 today—

about the same thing Carter is proposing for some families and considerably more than he is proposing for others.

The essence of Carter's welfare plan is simple enough: it puts money before people. At one cabinet meeting, according to a report in the June 26 *New York Times*, Carter declared: "Are you telling me that there is no way to improve the present welfare system except by spending billions of dollars? In that case, to hell with it. We're wasting our time."

During his May 26 news conference Carter reaffirmed this attitude publicly. He insisted that "the basic premise on which this [welfare] proposal has been evolved has been no additional cost above and beyond what we presently spend on welfare. . . ."

How will the cost of the system be held down? To begin with, federal money allocated to the larger industrial states for job programs would be sharply reduced. Moreover, in the name of strengthening the family, the Carter administration plans to count the income of all members of a household in determining eligibility for welfare.

For example, an unwed teen-age mother would be ineligible for welfare if she lived with her parents and they had an income above the welfare level. Similarly, grandparents or disabled family members living with relatives could be denied welfare under the new system.

Carter's talk about strengthening the family is actually a hypocritical cover for putting more of the burden for caring for the old, the ill, and the very young on individual families rather than where it belongs—on the government.

The needed funds are there already. Just get rid of the \$120 billion war budget, and tax the profits of banks and corporations, instead of giving them tax credits and billions of dollars in interest payments each year.

Forced-labor provision

While pretending to combat the reactionary and racist stereotype of the "welfare chiseler" living an easy life at the expense of working-class taxpayers, Carter and his underlings have, in fact, made this stereotype

an essential aspect of their sinister "reform." The Carter package has a forced-labor provision built into it.

Once again, Carter's plan is worse than Nixon's proposed forced-labor provisions. Under the 1969 FAP plan, those on welfare would have lost \$300 a year for refusing a job offer—regardless of the wages and the character of the job. Under Carter's plan, those refusing a job would lose most of their benefits.

"Workfare" programs of this type are a threat to the trade union movement as well as to welfare recipients. Local governments have used such schemes to lay off unionized workers and hire welfare recipients for the same jobs at lower wages.

In Milwaukee, for example, men and women who apply for welfare aid have been forced to accept jobs sweeping the streets, cleaning public buildings, picking up trash, fulfilling clerical functions, and making bedding and drapes for public institutions. The county government pays \$2 an hour to participants in the so-called pay-for-work program.

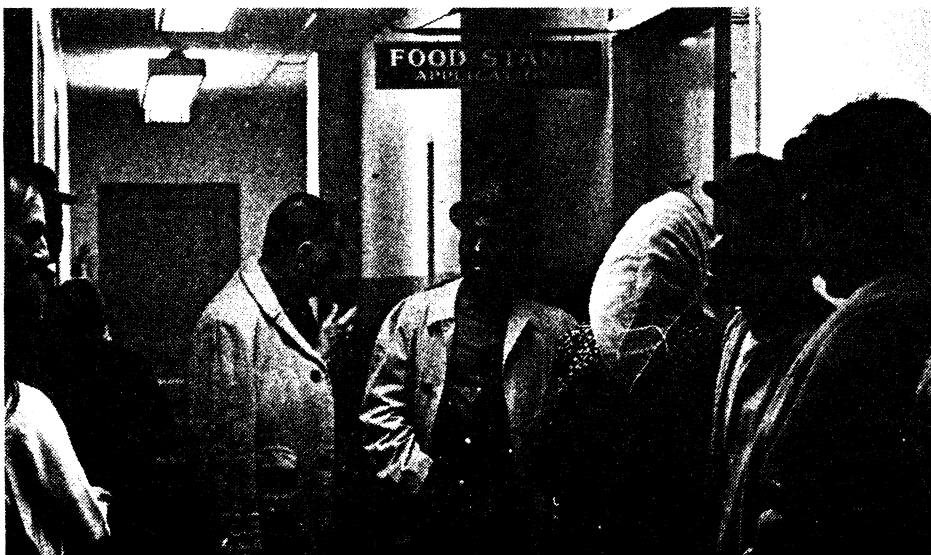
"Civil Service workers make twice as much as I do, but the supervisors work me twice as hard," Marie Guyton, a nineteen-year-old custodian in the Milwaukee program, told *New York Times* reporter Paul Delaney.

Guyton added, "And as hard as I work I think I should be paid as much as they. It's not fair."

Nor is the Milwaukee program fair to unionized workers. James Robinson, executive director of District Council 48 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union, told Delaney: "Our people are being put out of work, while the pay-for-work people will still be there at \$2 an hour."

Carter not only refuses to establish decent levels of welfare, but pretends that unemployment is the fault of the workers. He talks about incentives to work, as if unemployment was caused by the laziness of the workers, rather than by capitalists seeking to maximize profits and cut costs.

Carter's shameful record on welfare shows once again that there is no substantial difference between the Democratic and Republican parties and that working people need their own labor party.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

L.A. County unions press contract demands

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Leaders of the Coalition of County Unions met June 30 and set 12:01 a.m. on July 12 as the strike deadline for Los Angeles County's 70,000 workers if contract agreements have not been reached.

Tentative agreement has been reached in all but two of the county bargaining units—the clerical unit with 17,000 workers and the welfare eligibility unit with 3,800 workers.

Over the past year, the county board of supervisors has imposed a series of major cutbacks in staffing and services. The board cut the county work force by 6,000 through attrition, the removal of nonpermanent workers, and a hiring freeze.

On June 16, 1,200 welfare workers met to hear reports on the status of negotiations with the county. The reports they heard resulted in an overwhelming vote of 95 percent to authorize their bargaining committee to call a strike if necessary.

The county has begun to close down programs and facilities serving local residents, such as Long Beach General Hospital.

County unions are pressing demands for reductions in workloads and for needed salary increases. The unions are asking for \$125 across the board for the 17,000 clerical workers, and \$150 for the 3,800 welfare eligibility workers.

In the welfare department, the county has refused to consider a union demand for an absolute maximum on caseloads.

Walter Lippmann is a shop steward for Service Employees International Union Local 535 in the Los Angeles County welfare department.

On wages, the county at first offered no increase. This was later changed to 4.75 percent for the clerical workers and a similar amount for the others. But this only if the workers agree to the elimination of all salary step increases.

The county wants to double the amount newly hired workers pay into the county retirement system.

The county wants the workers to pay for increases in the cost of medical insurance, which now covers all workers. This is estimated at ten to twenty dollars per worker per month.

The county wants to impose a "management rights" clause in the contracts, to give it the ability to fire, discipline, or lay off any workers without negotiating with the unions.

At the same time it wants to remove current provisions requiring it to negotiate any proposed change in any past practice, personnel rule, or other policy with the unions.

Further, the county wants to drastically cut back by 60 percent the compensation paid to those injured on the job.

Finally, the county wants to eliminate unemployment coverage at the end of 1977.

County workers have begun to respond to these threatened attacks in several ways.

Thousands of workers have developed what union officials call "frustration fever." In some cases, entire work locations have been shut down by these outbreaks.

In the welfare department, workers have been holding weekly noontime picket lines.

County workers in Los Angeles are represented by three locals of the Service Employees International Union, as well as by locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Operating Engineers; Building Trades Council; and others.

The welfare eligibility workers' bargaining team, composed of ten rank-and-file workers, put forth—and the meeting of 1,200 adopted—a proposal for a united mass meeting of all county workers to say "No" to the county's plans to cut back on wages and benefits.

Such a united mass meeting, they declared, uniting workers from all unions, county departments, and bargaining units, could help turn back the county offensive.

Panama under imperialism: exploitation & repression

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

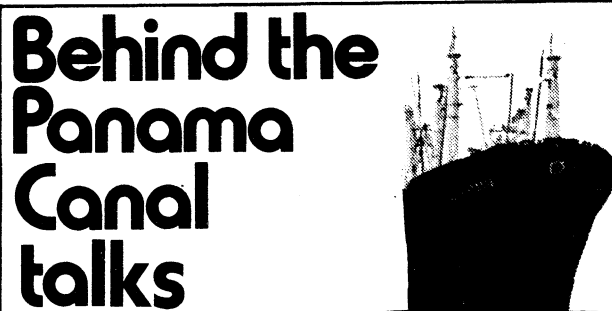
(Fourth in a series)

Previous articles have described how the United States stole the Panama Canal and used it as a foothold in Latin America to exercise domination throughout Central and Latin America.

"Panama is set for an economic development boom if a new canal treaty with the United States is concluded and the confidence of investors restored," said Juan de Onis in the January 17, 1977, issue of the *New York Times*.

De Onis pointed to these Panamanian assets:

- It is a major banking center, with more than seventy foreign banks holding deposits of over \$99 billion.
- It has a huge copper deposit in Chiriquí Province, which could make Panama a major mineral exporter in less than ten years. Texasgulf, a U.S. mining company, has already signed a development contract for it.
- The eastern half of the country, which is rich in



forest resources, is being opened up for the first time by a highway scheduled for completion in 1979.

In the decade preceding 1973, Panama had an annual economic growth rate of 8 percent. Its annual per capita income in 1973 reached \$1,000—the highest in Central America. Per capita figures on foreign investment and U.S. aid show Panama in first place internationally.

However, over the past four years this bright picture has been dulled by the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the growing demands for self-determination from the Panamanian masses. The January 2, 1977, issue of the *Miami Herald* estimated the economic growth rate for 1976 at a minus 1.0 percent. Inflation is up to 15-20 percent annually. Twenty percent of the people in the country's two major cities are unemployed, and the national debt has swelled to over \$1 billion.

The spectacular figures on U.S. investment and aid were in large part the result of Washington's special relationship with Panama.

The canal alone, the *New York Times* reported in a February 14, 1977, editorial, "reduces the delivery price of American exports and imports by \$1.5 billion a year and yields toll revenues of \$150 million a year, out of which the United States pays Panama \$2.3 million. . . ."

In addition, American military savings resulting from use of the facility average \$200 million a year, according to calculations made by *Diálogo Social*.

Other economic activities of Panama are highly dependent on the enclave. In fiscal year 1972, the sale of Panamanian goods and services to residents of the Canal Zone amounted to more than \$170 million. More than 40 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings were directly or indirectly attributable to the presence of the canal, according to the September 1974 issue of *NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report*. Furthermore, more than one-third of Panama's employment is related to activities in the Canal Zone.

The economic policies of the Panamanian government have been designed to deepen this dependence on Washington.

In 1953 a free zone was established in Colón. *NACLA* described how it operates:

One of the largest distribution centers in the world, the Free Zone offers numerous incentives to multinational corporations. Merchandise entering, stored, processed or leaving the Colon Free Zone (CFZ) is exempt from taxes and duties. . . . the CFZ now conducts annual transactions worth more than \$750 million for more than 600 firms. Among the major companies using the facilities of the DFZ are Coca-Cola, Colgate Palmolive, Firestone, ITT,

4. The January 17, 1977, issue of the *New York Times* reported that "\$1 billion in goods are transshipped duty-free annually."

McGraw Gill, Pfizer, Polaroid and Xerox. . . . There are no export levies or customer duties; no outbound consular fees or processing taxes; and often no capital gain assessment, personal taxes or corporate taxes. Firms operating within the CFZ are exempt from taxes on capital invested, and on dividends and remittances abroad.

Another plum offered by the Panamanian government to foreign interests was the 1970 banking law. It provided for the setting up of an international financial center in Panama in which banks do not have to pay taxes. These banks, through their control of credit, are an increasing power in the domestic economy.

This law was complemented two years later by a constitutional provision making the U.S. dollar the legal tender of Panama.

About 83 percent of the products exported by Panama in 1968 went to the United States. Sixty percent of all capital in Panamanian companies comes from U.S. sources. The Chiriquí Land Company, a subsidiary of the U.S.-based United Brands, is the largest single landowner in the country and dominates all agricultural production, which provides Panama's leading exports.

Washington has handpicked and protected Panamanian presidents throughout the country's history.

Under Theodore Roosevelt, a U.S. commission oversaw the Panamanian presidential elections of 1908. The commission forced the withdrawal of Ricardo Arias from the race.

In 1910, the United States was concerned that the probable election of Carlos Mendoza as president would be "detrimental to the good interests of Panama, of the Canal Zone and of American influence," *NACLA* recalled in the September 1974 issue of its magazine. An official at the U.S. embassy threatened military occupation and annexation if Washington's favorite was not elected. Mendoza withdrew from the race.

During the 1918 campaign, U.S. troops marched into the cities of Panama and Colón as a result of what Washington considered an unconstitutional decree postponing the elections.

In 1921 U.S. troops remained in Panama for two weeks to "protect" the country's president from protesters.

Since 1936 Washington has severed diplomatic relations with Panama several times to protest



TORRIJOS

elections and government policies. Moreover, in 1964 when anti-American demonstrations broke out, the Canal Zone government physically cut the country in two by banning traffic across the enclave.

Perhaps Washington even had a hand in promoting the 1969 coup that brought the current Panamanian head of state, Gen. Omar Torrijos, to power. Torrijos had taken four courses at the USARSA in the years immediately preceding the coup—in 1962 and 1963, on counterinsurgency; in 1964, on truck maintenance; and in 1966, on military administration.

Torrijos stepped into the breach when negotiations over the canal were not going well and when the Panamanian ruling class was losing credibility with the country's masses.

At the very least, Torrijos has become a useful tool of Washington during his eight-year rule. His policies have facilitated imperialist penetration of Panama and helped keep the lid on the rising struggles of the Panamanian masses to rid themselves of the U.S. presence.

(Next: Opposition to U.S. control)

Queens strike ends in defeat

New York cops attack District 1199 protest

By Vangie Eidsvik

NEW YORK—Police attacked a peaceful June 18 demonstration in Queens of members and supporters of District 1199 of the National Union of

Vangie Eidsvik is a member of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and a union delegate from Beth Israel Medical Center.

Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Many of the protesters, who numbered several hundred, were with small children. Most were Black and Hispanic. The march in support of striking workers at the Queens Artificial Kidney Center turned into chaos as police tried to clear demonstrators off the street.

Several people were clubbed and six arrested—two 1199 vice-presidents and four hospital organizers.

This was the third demonstration called by 1199 to aid the fifty-six employees of the Queens center, who went on strike May 2.

The center is owned by Dr. Eugene Schupak and his multi-million-dollar chain of dialysis centers. The majority of the firm's 1199 workers are Black, Puerto Rican, and female. Most receive thirty dollars a week less than other 1199 workers doing identical jobs.

Members of 1199 at the Queens center struck after Schupak refused the union's proposals for improvements in wages and health benefits.

The police attack on the June 18 demonstration was not the first. The large contingent of security guards hired by Schupak were aided by city police throughout the strike. During the first two weeks of the strike, six pickets were arrested and several assaulted. Before the June 18 demonstration the toll had risen to fifteen arrests.

Despite the union's support, the strike was broken. After eight weeks on the picket lines, Schupak threatened to hire an entirely new work force, and the 1199 members voted to end their strike and return to work without a contract.

This was a blow to all of 1199. The fight for a contract at the Queens center was an important skirmish before the major battle 1199 will face in the summer of 1978 when contracts expire for a majority of the 1199 members in New York City.

On June 28, an arbitrator in the current dispute between the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York and District 1199 awarded some wage and benefit increases for the second year of the union's two-year contract.

The arbitrator ruled that a 4.5 percent wage increase put into effect

by another arbitrator last January should be continued. And he ordered another increase of 5 percent next January.

He also ordered that the employers must increase their payments to the union's benefit fund from 8.5 percent to 9.9 percent of the gross payroll.

District 1199 President Leon Davis said the award was "too little, by far" to compensate for the erosion of wages of union members.

An executive of the employers said implementing the increases would mean staff reductions—"people and programs."

These threats, and the defeat of the Queens center strike, underline the importance of beginning now to prepare for the contract battle next summer. We will need the widest possible support of labor and the Black and Puerto Rican communities in our 1978 struggle.

Vote brings changes to Detroit transit union

By Steve Beumer

DETROIT—Local 26 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing 1,300 city bus drivers here, recently held its election for local officers. The results were a continuation of the process begun three years ago when the old leadership was overturned.

Before 1974 this overwhelmingly Black local was ruled for eighteen years with an iron fist by a white

Steve Beumer is a Detroit bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26. He is currently a Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit City Council.

president. It took a long, hard fight by the Black drivers to be included in the local's elected leadership.

In the 1974 elections the first Black president was elected. It soon

became apparent that his main interest was not in the membership but in proving to management that he was one of those "responsible" labor leaders. This meant abandoning any pretense of serving the members and instead making himself available as a cheerleader for management's rotten schemes.

The membership responded with an impeachment movement, and he was removed from office. But there's been a great deal of dissatisfaction with the president elected in that special election, and he too was defeated in the general election May 27.

In another race, I received 211 votes for recording secretary. Although I lost, a great deal of discussion took place over several of my campaign planks. Among them were establishing a local newspaper, the need to take a more militant stand at the bargaining table, and the con-

cept of supporting independent labor political action.

To this end I advocated the local running an independent candidate for city council elections this fall. Many of the drivers thought this was a logical answer to the attacks that have come from city hall.

One of the most hotly contested seats was financial secretary-treasurer, one of two full-time posts in the local. Two of the four candidates soon became leading contenders. First was incumbent John Warren, synonymous with corrupt and management-dominated unionism to many drivers. He was openly supported by management and drew the bulk of his campaign workers from retirees, traditionally the more conservative unionists.

His main opponent, Mohammad Lahab, drew his strength from the younger drivers and the newly hired women drivers.

Their campaign literature illustrated the process of change the local is going through. Warren emphasized his experience. Lahab listed as his first priority to "disconnect ourselves from management and place our loyalty where it belongs, with the membership."

Both candidates are Black, but most of the younger, more militant Black drivers saw their interests articulated by Lahab.

In the general election May 27, Warren polled 433 to Lahab's 254. In the run-off the following week, Lahab edged out Warren 508 to 502.

Lahab's election caught management off guard. It had fully expected Warren to be returned to office.

This election certainly lays a firmer base for Local 26 to move forward in a more militant direction. It opens the door to further changes more in line with the real needs of the membership.

Contracts expire for Phila. hospital workers

By Mike Finley and Joel Hodroff

PHILADELPHIA—During the first week of July contracts covering more than 5,000 members of National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199C, will expire here.

In a poll taken June 6, union members authorized the leadership to call a strike if necessary.

Mike Finley is a member of the Guild Division of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199C, at Medical College of Pennsylvania. Joel Hodroff is on the negotiating committee of 1199C from the Service Division at Medical College.

The recent defeat for the Transport Workers Union after a bitter seven week struggle and a bank-sponsored assault on the city's school system give an idea of what the employers have in mind for hospital workers.

The union is asking for a modest 13 percent wage increase over two years and a small cost-of-living clause.

The union is also demanding an increase in the percentage of the

payroll that the hospitals pay in the union benefit plan. This plan is one of the best of its kind in the Philadelphia area and is considered one of the major gains won by the union since organizing the hospitals several years ago.

Management has clearly stated that it wants to do away with most of the plan.

In preparation for the battle, the hospitals have begun to hire nonunion "part-timers"—that is, workers who put in forty hours a week at part-time pay.

Registered nurses, members of the Pennsylvania Nurses Association, have been ordered to work twelve-hour shifts. The PNA, to its credit, has instructed its members to work a regular eight-hour shift and to refuse to perform nonnursing duties in case of an 1199C strike.

The hospital executives and their friends in the news media and city government hope to portray striking hospital workers as the cause of soaring medical costs, as well as responsible for every sort of inconvenience and hardship that may result from a city-wide hospital shutdown.

Hardly anything is ever mentioned about the expensive lawyers hired to



Militant/Jon Flanders

February 1977 protest against closing of Philadelphia General Hospital.

negotiate a contract favorable to the hospital administrators and the exorbitant doctors' fees that do account for a large part of astronomical medical costs.

Last year the employers and the administration of Mayor Frank Rizzo demonstrated their "concern" for the people of Philadelphia by phasing out the city's only public hospital. The closing of Philadelphia General Hospital will eventually result in heavy layoffs and a severe reduction in health care for its largely Black and poor patients.

Hospital workers in 1199C are up against a determined front of employers and their cohorts in city hall.

A mass education campaign is needed to explain the issues of the strike to counter the antiunion lies of the press.

The union should demand that the hospitals open their books so that everyone can see for themselves whether such outrageous medical costs are justified.

The union will have to appeal to the entire Philadelphia labor movement and to our allies in the Black and Puerto Rican communities for aid and support if we are to win.

ERA: charting a course to win

**By Mary-Alice Waters
and Cindy Jaquith**

In 1972 Congress adopted the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, and the process of state-by-state ratification began. Since then the ERA has been one of the battle lines of the class struggle in the United States. The outcome is still undecided. As the March 1979 deadline nears, the confrontation between pro- and anti-ERA forces will intensify.

Who profits?

The social, economic, and legal inequality of women serves only the interests of those who profit from the work of others—the capitalist class. The oppression of women is the basis of the family institution, a system that foists an inordinate



economic burden onto individual parents and deprives most children of the full benefits that society's wealth could provide.

In the work force, the inequality of women exerts a downward pressure on the wages of all workers. It is used to divide the working class along sex lines, pitting men against women. Thus, the fight to eradicate the inequality of women, to make it illegal to discriminate against women, is in the interests of all those—men and women—who must sell their labor power to make a living.

The fight for women's equality is of special interest to other superexploited sectors of the working class—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, undocumented workers, youth. Like women, they pay the price for the systematic fostering of racism, sexism, and other prejudices that deepen divisions in the working class and block a united struggle to improve the living standards of all.

That is why the fight for the ERA is part of the class struggle. Equality for women is an issue around which the historic interests of the tiny handful who own and control the wealth of this country are counterposed to the historic interests of the overwhelming majority, the working class.

Debate on alternatives

That does not mean, of course, that all employers are against the ERA and all workers are for it. If politics were so simple we could just study charts, graphs, and the economic laws that govern capitalism—and forget about learning to think.

There is a division among the employers about how to handle the demand for an equal rights amendment. This is reflected among the Democratic and Republican politicians who represent big business.

The ERA has produced rather heated debates in some state legislatures. Not debates over the merits of eliminating the social and economic foundations of women's oppression—that is out of the question.



Militant/Pat Hayes

To end women's oppression would entail a massive redistribution of wealth coupled with economic planning to meet pressing social needs such as child care and full employment. They are not about to do that.

The argument among the elected representatives of the ruling class is on a different level. It is over how best to prevent such fundamental demands of women from being raised by even broader social forces.

Some, like President Carter, favor passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, apparently convinced it is better to simply say women are equal and get it over with. Otherwise women will continue to mobilize and fight for the ERA and in the process may start to become conscious of their collective interests and their strength. And then they may start raising further demands, and the whole thing could get out of hand.

But as defeats for the ERA in state after state show, many other Democrats, as well as Republicans, are not prepared to make this concession. They think it is dangerous to capitulate on the ERA because that will be a stimulus to further struggles. Women will conclude that it pays to fight. They will be encouraged to extend their demands for equality on all levels. It will set an example for Blacks, for labor, for gays, for others who think they should have more rights. And *then* the whole thing will get out of hand.

The reason the employers and the politicians they hire are so divided is that both sides have an element of truth. They are damned if they do and damned if they don't.

The working class faces no such dilemma, however. Passage of the ERA, and any other advance toward equality for women, is unequivocally in our interests. A defeat for the ERA would be a setback for women and for the working class.

Why is ERA important?

Passage of the ERA would not be a meaningless gesture. It would have an immediate impact on many laws and social conventions that discriminate against women, such as laws that:

- give heavier criminal penalties to women than men convicted of the same crime;
- permit state colleges to discriminate against female applicants;
- prohibit women from working certain jobs;
- establish dual pay schedules allowing women to be paid less than men for doing the same work; and
- enable women to get less return on their Social Security than men in the same income bracket.

Such laws reflect the prevailing social acceptance of discrimination against women. Ratification of the ERA would make these laws unconstitutional and strengthen other antidiscriminatory legislation such as the 1963 Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The ERA would place a powerful weapon in the hands of women, enabling us to fight more effectively to implement and extend equality under the law. It would open the door to better paying jobs and greater economic independence. It would place the fight for affirmative action, which must be the vehicle for redressing the gross inequalities created by centuries of discrimination, on a more solid base.

Passage of the ERA would be especially important for Black women, Chicanas, and women of other oppressed nationalities who bear compounded discrimination on the basis of race and sex.

Since an even higher percentage of Black women are in the work force than white women, Black women are even more likely to be excluded from equal access to jobs, job training programs, and education.

Political symbol

But the ERA represents more than the eradication of laws that discriminate against women. In the last five years the ERA—like busing and abortion rights—has become a prime target of those who are convinced that the radicalization of the sixties and seventies has gone too far, that things are *already* out of hand.

Thus, the battle for the ERA is an ideological confrontation over changing social attitudes.

The opponents of the ERA see this clearly. To them the ERA is a symbol of every progressive idea and social force they are determined to crush. They link the ERA to all their other targets and turn it into a broadside campaign of reaction.

ERA=abortion=murder.

ERA=child-care facilities=destruction of the family.

ERA=affirmative action=taking jobs away from fathers unable to provide for their children.

ERA=forced busing=destroying our children's education.

ERA=gay rights=child molesters.

ERA=unions=abridgement of "right to work."

ERA=socialism!

In this way the ERA has become a symbol for a broad range of issues. Its defeat would embolden the forces of racism, bigotry, and reaction. Its passage would be a severe blow to them on all fronts.

The sad fact is that in this national test of strength the right wing has been gaining ground steadily in recent months, because they have been more effective in marshaling their visible and vocal supporters and sharpening their ideological offensive. In fact, since October 1976 support for ratification of the ERA has dropped from 64 percent to 56 percent of the population.

What strategy to win

The strategy of many ERA supporters, including the more conservative wing of the leadership of the National Organization for Women and groups such as ERAmerica, has been stamped by an orientation toward the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, rather than toward the potential to build a massive ERA movement among women, labor, Blacks, and students.

An aggressive, public campaign by such a movement would show the legislators that ERA supporters are a *force* to be reckoned with.

The conservative approach of many in the NOW leadership has limited NOW's ERA strategy to lobbying individual legislators and working to elect politicians who promise to vote for the ERA.

Intimidated by the anti-ERA forces, these leaders have tried to slip the ERA through as a "respectable" issue advocated by "responsible" women, not rabble-rousers or radicals.

In order not to alienate the politicians, they have tried to dissociate the ERA from women's right to abortion; from human rights for gays and lesbians; and from affirmative-action programs and quotas. They have refrained from pointing out that the ERA is of special importance to working women

and Black women, arguing that that would turn other women off.

Thus, objections are frequently raised against inviting a pro-abortion rights speaker to appear on the platform of an ERA rally. Sometimes it is argued that no pro-abortion literature should be distributed. At the May 16, 1976, ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, NOW organizers tried to convince the lesbian contingent to take down its banners, claiming that it would look bad in the press coverage if the ERA was identified with lesbians.

Fools no one

This approach has fooled no one but those who advocate it. Our enemies have been emboldened—not only on the ERA front, where further defeats for the amendment have occurred this year, but on abortion, affirmative action, gay rights, and other fronts. The latest rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court, justifying the denial of government funds for abortion, have alerted many in the women's movement to the price we have paid for this strategy.

The ERA and all women's rights are in grave danger today because of this strategy. It is not a question of desires or intentions. Women who believe this is the correct perspective are sincere and committed. But there is no way to hoodwink some reactionary politician into thinking the ERA is "not so bad" by shutting up on the more "controversial" issues and letting the right wing take the offensive against us.

Nor can we mobilize our allies by giving the appearance of being neutral on such burning issues as abortion, child care, gay rights, or forced sterilization.

Affirm our rights

On the contrary, our program and perspective must be to loudly affirm that the ERA is part of a broader social struggle. Women's liberation is synonymous with an extension of human rights for all.

We should not insist that everyone who is ready to vote for the ERA must be willing to support us on all other questions too. We should not demand that ERA coalitions and demonstrations adopt positions on a whole range of other questions.

But we should invite speakers to appear at our rallies who will discuss abortion, affirmative action, desegregation, gay rights, union struggles, and other issues, explaining how the ERA is related to all such questions. We should build contingents in our demonstrations and put out literature explaining why the ERA is important to different social forces.

We must take the offensive. We must explain why the labor movement, the Black movement, the Chicano movement, the gay movement, and the student movement should fight alongside us, just as we will join forces with them because we understand we are all allies in the same struggle, that our victories and defeats will be interlinked.

With that program and perspective the ERA will be won.

A further note on women workers

In our June 24 article in this series, "More women in work force; new problems for the bosses," one of the statistics cited was somewhat misleading.

The figure usually given for the percentage of women who are part of the labor force is the one that appeared in the *Militant*—46 percent. But this is the percentage of women age sixteen and over. Thus, it includes many women who are still in school and not yet actively seeking employment. In that sense it gives a slightly distorted picture.

If you consider women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four, however, the figure jumps to 54 percent. For Black women between eighteen and sixty-four it is 56 percent. In other words, a majority of adult women today are in the work force.

In considering the importance of this fact, another statistic should be emphasized. In 1976 a historic turning point was passed. White males more than 20 years of age no longer make up a majority of the work force. They are the minority workers (49 percent).

The majority of women are workers. The majority of workers are women, oppressed nationalities, and youth.

Those statistics have far-ranging implications for the bosses—and for our side.

C.J. and M.A.W.

Int'l Women's Year

Meetings debate ERA, abortion

By Cindy Jaquith

"Women's meeting endorses ERA despite friction."

"Anti-ERA Stance Cheered at Meet."

"Abortion Issue Aired at Emotion-Packed Conference."

As the headlines in the major news media describe, the International Women's Year conferences taking place have erupted in sharp debates over women's rights.

Tens of thousands of women are participating in the government-sponsored IWY meetings, which are scheduled for each state, the District of Columbia, and five U.S. "territories."

In Rhode Island, 2,000 turned out for what became a pitched battle between pro- and anti-Equal Rights Amendment forces. By a vote of 439 to 337, the ERA finally passed.

In Utah, antiwoman forces led by the Mormon church swelled the conference to 13,000 and rejected the ERA, legal abortion, and gay rights (see story below).

Occurring in the midst of fierce attacks on women by the White House, Congress, and the Supreme Court, the IWY conferences are an important arena for feminists in the debate over women's rights.

Congress has allocated \$5 million to organize the fifty-six IWY conferences and a national IWY conference to be held in Houston November 18-21. President Carter appointed former U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug to chair the IWY commission.

The Democrats and Republicans correctly gauged the interest the conferences would spark. Blacks, Chicanas, young women, workers, and housewives have poured into the meetings.

They have come expecting a discussion of the problems they face as women and looking for a program of action. Many have been disappointed.

Agendas have been set in advance by the organizers. Plenary discussion time has been cut short. Emphasis has instead been placed on selecting delegates for the Houston conference, but "official" delegate slates are already drawn up before the women arrive.

These undemocratic measures, conference organizers argue, are necessary to outflank participating right-wing groups.

But such measures neatly suit the purposes of the politicians who initiated the conferences—the same people taking away Medicaid for abortions, gutting affirmative action, and letting the ERA languish in state legislatures.

They certainly have no interest in open discussions that would expose their antiwoman course. Instead, they hope to use the IWY meetings to divert attention away from their offensive against women, to create the image of a government seriously concerned with women's issues. At the same time, wherever right-wing groups succeed in pushing through antiwoman proposals, the government can point to this as a mandate for continuing

its attacks.

Stop ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly and other reactionary forces quickly recognized the potential of the conferences as a platform and have organized antiwoman groups to attend. Some conference organizers who support women's rights have responded by seeking some sort of compromise.

In Georgia, for example, organizers put together a delegate slate that included both pro- and anti-ERA women. They explained to the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* that they were "bending over backwards to be fair" to the opposition.

Many members of the National Organization for Women and other groups have taken a different approach. Determined that the real needs of women be voiced at these conferences, they have organized large numbers to attend and debate out the issues with the right wing.

At the Tennessee conference, for example, NOW members and others organized a Pro-ERA/Pro-Choice Caucus, which worked with the Black Caucus in support of the ERA, legal abortion, and minority rights. In California, on the heels of large actions for gay rights, feminists succeeded in winning the vote in favor of gay rights, legal abortion, and the ERA.

By meeting the antiwoman forces head-on, and answering their arguments, women's liberation supporters can win over many conference participants—most of whom are attending their first women's event of any kind. Groups such as NOW can attract new women to their ranks and to the fight to halt the government offensive against women's rights.

Such an aggressive campaign is the best way to answer the antiwoman policies of the government and demonstrate that the majority of women in this country want equal rights now.



Militant/Della Rossa

Abortion workshop at Los Angeles International Women's Year meeting.

Utah: anti-ERA groups mobilize

By Katherine Sojourner

SALT LAKE CITY—More than 13,000 women and men attended Utah's International Women's Year (IWY) conference here June 24-25. In an atmosphere of chaos whipped up by right-wing groups, the participants overwhelmingly voted down the basic rights that affect the lives of every woman in this country.

An extensive campaign by the Mormon church turned out en masse the most bigoted, antiwoman forces in Utah—the John Birch Society, Conservative Caucus, HOTDOG (Humanitarians Opposed to Degrading Our Girls), "Right to Life," American Party, American Manhood Party, Stop ERA, and Citizens for Morality. Thousands of Mormon church members came from all over the state.

The largest workshop was on the Equal Rights Amendment. Four thousand women attended each of the two sessions.

The best-received speaker was the proclaimed antifeminist attorney Margaret Mahoney, who said: "The Equal Rights Amendment will introduce a feminist philosophy into the U.S. that is against the nation's viewpoint that the male is the head of the household."

The workshop vote went overwhelmingly against the ERA. The right-wingers also succeeded in passing an anti-abortion resolution. Gay rights,

child care, affirmative action, and bilingual-bicultural education were also roundly condemned.

A cross section of women's rights supporters in the Democratic Party had played a major role in planning the conference. But they took an approach of moderation. In planning meetings leading up to the conference, they urged women to "put aside controversial issues in order that women could unite around issues we agree on." Although it was not their intention, this approach gave the right wing a green light.

To the shock and dismay of the conference organizers, the right wing stripped away even the more moderate women's rights proposals and substituted whole new agendas for workshops.

Though far outnumbered, supporters of women's liberation were visible and active in the debates at the conference, determined to give voice to the real needs of women. A table set up by the National Organization for Women signed up more than 100 women who were interested in NOW's activities.

Seventy women's rights supporters—including some conference organizers—held a caucus meeting the second day. The meeting called for a news conference and picket line.

Chanting "Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate," 200 people demonstrated outside the conference center.

'Sacred Circles'

2,000 years of
Native
American Art

Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of Native American Indian Art. Exhibit of 850 pieces at the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art/Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City, Missouri, April 16 through June 19.

In honor of the bicentennial of the First American Revolution, the Arts Council of Great Britain sponsored a London exhibition of Native American

Art

art entitled "Sacred Circles." Now that exhibit is finishing up its only American showing at Kansas City's William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art/Atkins Museum of Fine Arts.

The exhibit is an international collection, with pieces on loan from museums in Denmark and Germany as well as from all over North America. Yet "Sacred Circles" really returned home in coming to Kansas City. The collection was assembled by the director of the Nelson Gallery, Ralph T. Coe.

Subtitled "Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art," the exhibit is a window into the diverse cultures that were crushed by the arrival of Europeans. The exhibition is organized so as to emphasize the diversity of the Native American

experience. Special areas display the work of geographical regions of the Northern Woodlands, Southeast Woodlands, Southwest, Plains, Northern Athabascan, Arctic, and Northwest Coast.

The art Native Americans produced is diverse and rich, reflecting the many ways they responded to the needs and resources of their environment. Intricate and vividly colored masks from the Northwest contrast with the classically simple forms of Southwest pottery.

This interrelation with nature is acknowledged in the very title of the exhibit. "Circles," the most common form in the pieces, symbolizes unity between the people and their environment, a unity sacred in its importance, fragility, and power for humanity.

The exhibit suffers, perhaps, from a too close adherence to the credo of J.F. Huckell who assembled the Nelson Gallery's permanent Native American collection. In 1933 he termed it "outstanding because it puts art first and ethnology second."

But this is not mere "art for art's sake." The Native Americans, because of their close dependence on nature, created daily and ceremonial tools, not playthings. The bowls, pipes, ceremonial clothing, robes, and weavings say much about the people who made and used them, while also commanding aesthetic attention.

Perhaps the most stunning piece is a Plains Indian wooden effigy to a

courageous horse. Elongated, straining with the painted-on scars of battle, it is a testimony to the animal's power and resource.

The Northwestern masks are colorful, elaborate, and massive, pointing to a comparatively rich society with an involved ceremonial system. Eskimo art, on the other hand, is small—portable carvings and masks sharing a humorous grotesqueness.

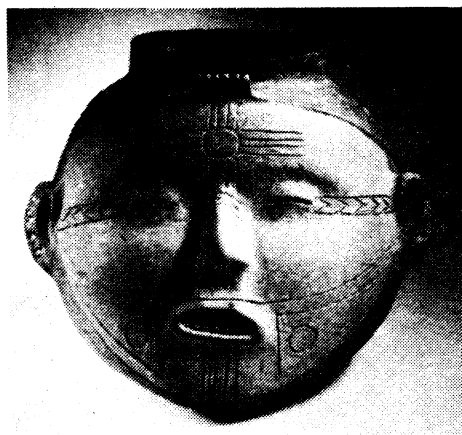
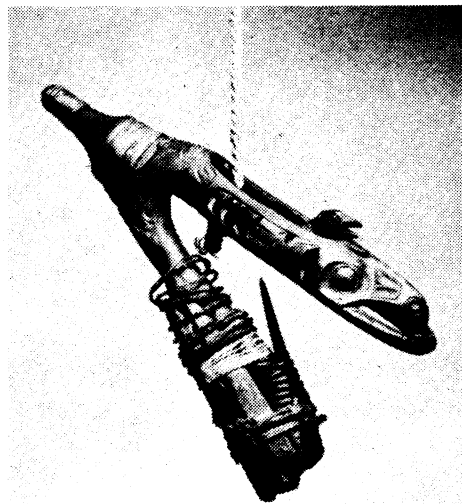
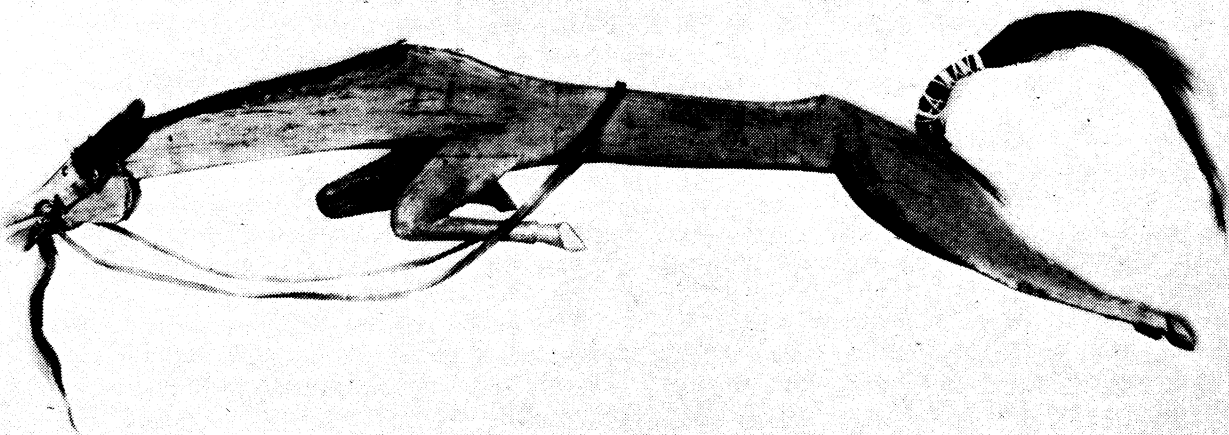
There is much more to discover in the 850-piece collection spanning 2,000 years and an entire continent.

The exhibit includes a few traces of the Europeans' arrival—the appearance of beaded epaulets or the use of glass beads in place of porcupine quills. But the actual impact of the European conquest, the systematic crushing of the American Indians and their cultures, could not be fully documented here.

How ironic that this exhibit was assembled to commemorate the founding of the country that destroyed this art. A country that destroyed these American Indian artists in massacres stretching from 1696 in Rhode Island to Wounded Knee in 1870.

"Sacred Circles" is a glimpse and memorial to those Native American cultures. Its too-brief, three-month showing, limited to Kansas City, is perhaps a monument to the white man's barbaric contempt that destroyed that culture.

—Kim Kleinman



Top: Three-foot effigy of horse. Made by Plains Indians, 1800s. Above: Fishhook, northwest coast, Alaska; and head pot, 1200-1600 A.D., Arkansas.

Winning women's rights

Which Way for the Women's Movement? by Cindy Jaquith and Willie Mae Reid. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 1977. 31 pages, \$50.

How to Win the ERA by Ginny Hildebrand, Cindy Jaquith, Cathy Sedwick, and Reba Williams. 31 pages, \$50.

As the women's movement enters its second decade, new challenges are before it.

The economic boom that allowed this country's rulers to make concessions to

Pamphlets

working people in the 1960s is over. Cutbacks, layoffs, attacks on the rights of working people are coming under rapid fire. Granting equality to women and oppressed national minorities is too expensive a proposition for capitalism in this economic situation.

Abortion rights, child-care funds,

Equal Rights Amendment, and pregnancy benefits have all come under attack, one right after another.

The feminist movement has yet to take stock of this all-out threat to women's rights. But a debate over strategy is emerging in the women's movement.

These two pamphlets are a valuable contribution to the debate. They help clarify many issues that have proven to be pitfalls for the women's movement.

Willie Mae Reid in her contribution to *Which Way for the Women's Movement?* notes that "the government consciously targeted poor women, especially Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Native American, in this first round of attacks—laying bets that the rest of the women's movement would not rally to the defense of these sisters.

"Unfortunately, most of the organized women's movement has not seen through the government's 'divide and conquer' tactic. Feminists must realize that what the antiwoman forces hope to do is make butchered abortions,

forced motherhood, and forced sterilizations the normal and only options for all women."

A Gallup poll in 1975 showed that ERA supporters outnumber opponents two to one. Yet, only two states, North Dakota and Indiana, have ratified the ERA since 1974.

Why? *How to Win the ERA* analyzes different ERA strategies of the women's movement.

Cindy Jaquith states, "A strategy of lobbying state legislators and electing 'pro-ERA' Democrats and Republicans has been counterposed to organizing and mobilizing ERA backers by the thousands in actions whose impact the politicians cannot ignore."

"Carter and the ERA" by Ginny Hildebrand draws a balance sheet of the performance of the new Democratic administration.

"Carter's 'campaign' for the ERA has been a fake from the start. It was designed to suck women into his election campaign and demobilize the ERA movement," writes Hildebrand.

"The charade was also aimed at providing cover for a wave of attacks

on past gains of the women's movement, particularly abortion rights."

Hildebrand points out that the women's movement soft-pedaled the "controversial" abortion issue in order to win the more "respectable" ERA—and got neither.

Hildebrand gives an example of what it will take to win the ERA. On May 16, 1976, 8,000 demonstrated in Springfield, Illinois, for ratification of the ERA. New forces participated in the march, most significantly the trade unions.

May 16 should have been the first of many demonstrations. But a year has almost passed and no new May 16ths have been called.

Which Way for the Women's Movement? and *How to Win the ERA* are valuable because they draw lessons from the recent defeats for women's rights. Hopefully, these lessons can aid the discussions on a strategy for the women's movement. Both pamphlets display a confidence that not only can women defend their rights, but they can win new victories as well.

—Gale Shangold

Meeting pays tribute to Robert Langston

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—A memorial meeting for Robert Langston was held here June 26. Langston, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for eleven years and former *Militant* staff writer, died of a heart attack in Paris June 10.

About 175 people attended the meeting, which heard six speakers and several messages. The meeting was chaired by Linda Jenness, organizer of the New York local of the SWP.

George Novack, noted Marxist philosopher and longtime leader of the SWP, delivered the keynote talk. The other speakers were James Morgan, a member of the Upper West Side New York branch of the SWP; myself; Alan Wald, author of the forthcoming book *The Radical Years of James T. Farrell*; John Barzman, a member of the SWP National Committee; and Joanna Misnik, a participant in the production of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly publication of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.



Militant/Howard Petrick

ROBERT LANGSTON

The speakers and messages emphasized Langston's contributions as an activist, revolutionary intellectual, teacher of Marxist economics and philosophy, and a man who had also helped the radical movement financially.

"Many among us can testify," said Novack, "of their gratitude to Bob for his help as an educator, comrade, and dependable friend." Novack recounted how Langston had assisted both him and Evelyn Reed, the feminist anthropologist, to publish their books at a time of financial stringency for the SWP.

He described how Langston was drawn to Marxism through his studies in philosophy in Germany in the late 1950s.

"In the academic atmosphere there, a serious student might move either toward the existentialist metaphysics of Martin Heidegger or to Marxism by way of assimilating Hegel's dialectics in a materialist manner. Bob took the second course.

"Upon returning to Oklahoma City he entered the Socialist Party at a time when Cuba provided the touchstone of the attitude of every radical toward American imperialism and the socialist revolution. With the reflex of a true internationalist, Bob was repelled by the counterrevolutionary stand of the SP on this issue as well as by its low ideological level. This sent him in search of a political organization that was genuinely Marxist, and so he came to the door of the SWP."

Novack and other speakers noted various arenas of Langston's activities while in the SWP: as executive secretary of the Alexander Defense Committee that was formed in 1965 to build support and raise funds for an im-

soned Black South African freedom fighter; as a member of the *Militant* staff from 1968 to 1970; and in the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, which organized a U.S. speaking tour for Arie Bober, a leader of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen).

Novack noted that as a writer Langston "felt that he had to find out and weigh almost everything written about a given subject before he pronounced his own judgment on it. This did not make for facile journalism, and it tended to inhibit his literary output. Consequently he did not, despite his prolonged and assiduous studies in economic theory and sociology, produce as much or as easily as some others. This regrettably delayed realizing the full potential of his talents and learning until it was too late."

In recent years, Novack said, "Bob held views on some questions at variance with those adopted by the majority membership and leadership of the SWP. After moving upstate, he relaxed his ties with the party, then sought a change of scene and departed for Paris where the stroke suddenly cut short his career.

"Bob was a thoroughgoing internationalist in his outlook and in his experience. He was dedicated to the victory of the program and aims of the Fourth International," Novack said.

Langston's educational years and his conversion to socialism were described by Morgan, a longtime personal friend. Wald, a historian of American radical intellectuals, praised Langston's erudition and noted that "Bob used his intellectual powers most admirably . . . in his own firsthand, thorough, objective, and meticulous examination of those issues which he thought were important or which were under dispute."

Barzman also praised Langston as "a genuine revolutionary intellectual who has given himself to the revolution. No aspect of party activity was foreign to him."

Misnik described Langston's role in helping the ideas of revolutionary Marxism to take roots in other parts of the world. He "understood the need for the Fourth International," she said, and recalled his travels to Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon to gain a better understanding of the problems of the Arab revolution.

I discussed Langston's contribution in helping to analyze the postwar economic trends of world imperialism. This theme was also emphasized by the noted Belgian Marxist economist and leader of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel, in a telegram read to the memorial meeting.

"Bob had just decided to come to Europe and work with a small team of Marxist economists on what I believe should be a key theoretical endeavor today for Marxist theoreticians: the defense of the validity and integrity of Marxian value theory against the neo-Ricardian Cambridge school of Sraffa," Mandel said.

"Bob was one of the very few comrades in our movement who are capable of taking up this challenge at the theoretical level required to respond to this."

In another message, Pierre Frank, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League of France and a member of the United Secretariat, called Langston's death "a great loss."

Messages were also received from Tariq Ali on behalf of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International; Carolyn and Tom Kerry, longtime leaders of the SWP; a Québec sympathizing organization of the Fourth International; the Marxist Education Collective in New York City; and others.

Socialist Party U.S.A. ignores urgent issues

By Robert Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—Eighty-five delegates and alternates attended the national convention of the Socialist Party USA here over the Memorial Day weekend.

The SP claims a membership of 530 in twenty-one locals. It is the product of a three-way split in 1972 in the old Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation over whether to back George McGovern, the unsuccessful Democratic Party presidential nominee that year.

The split produced the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, led by Michael Harrington, and the Social Democrats USA, associated with Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin.

A third group wanted to run candidates outside the Democratic Party on a reformist program similar to the campaigns that Norman Thomas used to run. This group organized themselves as the SPUSA. In 1976 they ran Frank Zeidler, "socialist" mayor of Milwaukee in the 1950s, for president. The first SP presidential candidate since 1956, Zeidler appeared on seven state ballots, receiving about 6,000 votes.

A resolution adopted by the gathering projected SP congressional campaigns in 1978 wherever possible.

Unlike DSOC and SDUSA, the SP has little connection to the trade unions or the union bureaucracy. Most of their growth has been from members of the old SP or radicals from the 1960s. In Michigan they recently acquired part of the Human Rights Party, a grouping that split from the Democratic Party under the pressure of

the anti-Vietnam War movement. (Zolton Ferency, the major figure in the HRP, recently joined DSOC and rejoined the Democratic Party.)

Much of the convention discussion revolved around how to continue this "regroupment" of what the SP considers the "democratic left," including groups like the People's Party, New American Movement, and "some elements of DSOC."

On the international plane, the SP appears to be isolated. Their 1973 founding convention voted to apply for membership in the Second International (which includes the British Labour Party, German Social Democrats, and other European socialist parties). The SPUSA's application was never acted on. After considerable debate, this convention voted to reapply. The convention heard no greetings and there appeared to be no representatives from parties in other countries.

The "1977 National Action Program" passed at the convention states that "a comprehensive public program of health care and health administration, and public ownership and control of the transportation, energy, and banking and credit industries" are the priorities for socialist campaigns.

During the three-day convention there was no discussion of the problems currently facing the working class, such as attacks on desegregation, affirmative action, abortion rights, and gay rights, and the campaign against undocumented immigrants. There was also no discussion of the fight for greater democracy in the unions, typified by Steelworkers Fight Back, or solidarity with the revolts

Continued on page 30

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SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *The economic base of modern society*, Sat., July 9, 1 p.m.; *How the present rulers came to power*, 4 p.m.; *How working people can become the ruling class*, Sun., July 10, 1 p.m. Speaker: Dan Styron, SWP. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1 per session. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

IN DEFENSE OF GAY RIGHTS. Speakers: Michael Bardin, Dade County Coalition for Human Rights; Wendy Gaylord, cochairperson, Kent Gay Liberation Front; Bill Hoover, YSA. Thurs., July 14, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

EAST BAY

FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS! Speakers: Jeanne Jullion, lesbian who lost custody of her children; Sherry Fried, Jeanne Jullion Defense Fund; Randy Alfred, associate editor of *San Francisco Sentinel*; Howard Wallace, Gay Action; Sally Goodman, YSA. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

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LONG BEACH, CALIF.

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM, WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speaker: Andrea Brod. Sat., July 16, 3 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Susp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

BUSING & THE STRUGGLE FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Jon Hillson, author of *The Battle of Boston*; Eddie Bernard, president of Long Beach NAACP; others. Sat., July 16, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., panel. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Allies of the working class. Speaker: Max Geldman. Wed., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim. Donation: \$1. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 13 and 20, 7:30 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347 or 482-1820.

THE SCHOOL BUSING CRISIS: DESEGREGATION FROM BOSTON TO LOS ANGELES. A panel discussion: Diane Watson, LA School Board; Jon Hillson, author of *Battle of Boston*; Roland Coleman, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Charles Johnson, president, Pasadena NAACP; others. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. Golden State Mutual Auditorium, 1999 W. Adams (at Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

JON HILLSON ON RADIO AND TV. Hear author of *The Battle of Boston*. Thurs., July 14: 9 a.m., KHJ-TV, "Nine in the Morning"; 11:30 a.m., KTTV-TV, "Let's Rap"; 7 p.m., KPFK-FM, "Open Journal." Sun., July 17: 9 a.m., KGFI-AM, "Community Awareness"; 10 a.m. or 4 p.m. (call station) KDAY-AM and KJLH-FM, "Civilization '77"; KWST-FM, "Daily Planet," date and time to be announced.

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THE MURDER OF FRED HAMPTON. Speaker: Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton; film *The Murder of Fred Hampton*. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

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CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Jessica Sampson, SWP candidate for mayor of Phoenix. Sat., July 16, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

SAN ANTONIO

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...NAACP

Continued from page 6

board, Hooks said, was one to "convene a National Black Leadership Conference to prepare an agenda so that Black people, 25 million strong with an \$88 billion gross national product, can plan to secure their full freedom and to do it in an organized way."

Hooks said another proposal was "to establish new coalitions, stronger coalitions with those who wish to move forward with us as we remove racial and sexual discriminatory practices."

In an interview after the convention, NSCAR Coordinator Tony Austin told the *Militant*, "NSCAR welcomes the call by Benjamin Hooks and Lucius Walker for a national leadership conference of the Black community. Such a conference, where we can discuss the attacks on Black rights, is what's needed to begin organizing a massive response."

"Such a conference should see as its top priority mounting a national campaign to force the Supreme Court to overturn the *Bakke* decision [which struck down special minority admissions programs in the University of California system] and defend affirmative action."

"We in NSCAR are ready and willing to participate in such a conference."

...gay

Continued from page 15

Philadelphians for Gay Rights. The new organization grew out of a June 20 meeting of more than 225 people.

Opening the meeting, Mike Seltzer described the significance of the Dade County vote: "What happened in Florida has happened in Selma, Alabama. It happened in Soweto, South Africa. . . . We were attacked as a group and we have to respond as a group."

Pennsylvania gay rights supporters also suffered a setback last month when the state Senate Judiciary Committee refused to put a bill on the floor that would legalize all sexual activity between consenting adults. Meanwhile, one house in the legislature passed a bill prohibiting discrimination against gays in certain state jobs. The city council in Philadelphia is trying to stall the introduction of a gay rights bill.

On June 25, 100 marchers in Albuquerque, New Mexico, chanted "Gay rights now," and other slogans as people in passing cars honked their support.

The keynote speaker at a rally following the three-mile march was Henry Hay of Lambdas de Santa Fe. Hay, sixty-five, was a founder of Mattachine Society, one of the first gay organizations in this country. He called on gays to join in solidarity with Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and women, who, like gays, "have served and continue to serve as scapegoats."

A meeting of 350 lesbian and gay men in Minneapolis June 22 formed a new umbrella group to plan activities in support of gay rights. The Gay/Lesbian Council decided after long debate not to support the June 25 gay parade here because its organizers had not planned it as a political protest.

However, the march through downtown Minneapolis June 25 drew 450 gay rights supporters. While some floats and decorated cars reflected the traditional character of the event, marchers chanted an angry theme: "No more Miamis; defend gay rights!"

...SPUSA

Continued from page 29

against the white minority regimes in southern Africa.

The SPUSA believes that "socialist" election campaigns can achieve their goals without dealing with such "thorny" issues.

Such priorities have led the SP to endorse candidates such as Jim Stanbury, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Los Angeles City Council. A front-page article in the June 1977 issue of their eight-page monthly, *Socialist Tribune*, predicts, "It's going to be the Stanburys in the coming years that will advance the values and programs of Gene Debs and Norman Thomas."

But an article in the May 25-31 *In These Times* provides more details on Stanbury's political program. The generally favorable article quotes Stanbury as supporting "the best of socialism and the best of libertarianism."

The article explains that "while he pretty much claims the socialist label, he opposes certain positions which are typically backed by the left, including members of his own party, such as busing to achieve desegregation (a hot issue these days in Los Angeles), closed shop laws that require all workers in a union shop to join, and higher taxes for business."

Stanbury has apparently taken Carter's antilabor program and put a socialist label on it.

In other action, the convention passed a resolution endorsing the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against FBI and CIA harassment.

...abortion

Continued from back page

New Jersey to implement a state law outlawing Medicaid for abortions except those to save the woman's life. A federal district court judge ruled June 27 that the law could go into effect pending a final hearing this month. But the New Jersey attorney general is attempting to speed up the legal process so the law can be implemented immediately.

The anti-abortion drive by state and local officials has been bolstered not only by the Supreme Court, but by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress. "Some of the key votes came from liberals," noted the June 30 *New York Times* in its account of how the Senate decided to deny Medicaid funds.

Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) introduced an amendment allowing Medicaid for all abortions. It was killed, fifty-six to forty-two. In its place, the senators passed the ban on funds for most abortions. "Several senators who opposed the limitation last year voted for it this time," the *Times* reported.

Among them were Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), Frank Church (D-Idaho), Richard Schweiker

(R-Penn.), and William Proxmire (D-Wis.).

Interviewed by the *Times* the next day, the vote-switchers justified their attack on legal abortion, saying "they had been influenced by the Supreme Court, President Carter, public sentiment and especially by what they considered the liberal language of the bill."

The Medicaid ban now goes to a House-Senate conference for a final wording of the bill.

Packwood pointed to the role that "intensified pressure" from anti-abortion groups has played in congressional moves to chip away at women's rights.

These reactionary forces "are a very significant force," he told the *Times*. "To politicians, they are a frightening force."

As long as the anti-abortion forces are the most visible and vocal, the politicians will continue their drive against abortion and other women's rights.

Supporters of legal abortion have begun to organize protests against the actions of the Supreme Court and Congress. These protests are an important first step in mobilizing the kind of response critically needed today to defend women's right to choose.

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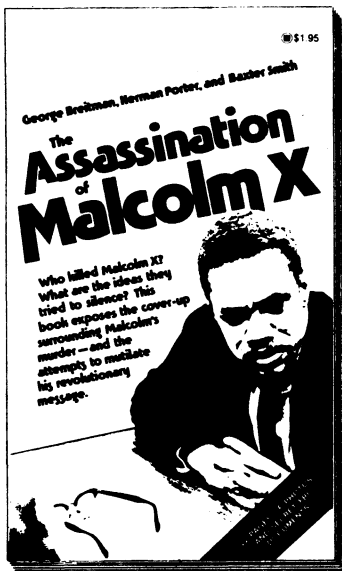
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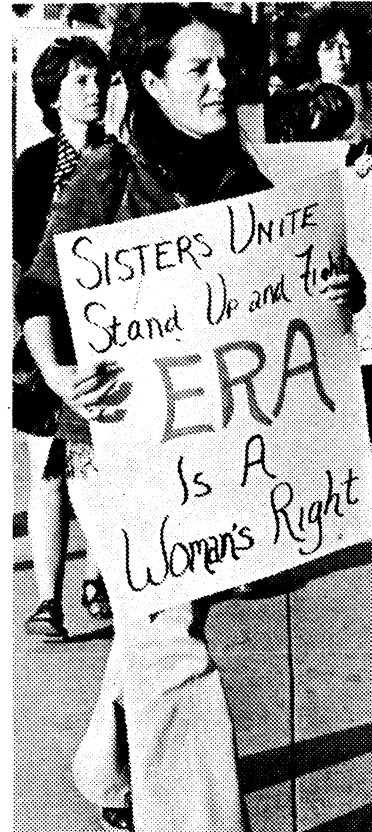
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Prince Georges County: SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Dorchester: SWP, 584 Columbia Rd., Room 309, Dorchester, Mass. 02125. Tel: (617) 282-3850.

Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 808 E. Franklin Ave., Room 3, Mpls., Minn. 55404. Tel: (612) 870-1284.

Southside Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

Westbank Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore,

510 20th Ave. So., Lower Level, Mpls., Minn. 55454. Tel: (612) 338-5093.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

Northside St. Louis: 4875 Natural Bridge Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63115. Tel: (314) 381-0044.

Westend St. Louis: 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: City-wide SWP, YSA, 256 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

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NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 4088, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106. Tel: (505) 256-1796.

Las Vegas: YSA, Highlands University, c/o Felipe Martinez, 1010 Douglas, Las Vegas, N.M. 87701. Tel: (505) 425-9224.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Ron Robinson, 528 Stewart Ave., Rm. 13, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 272-7098.

New York, Bronx: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497.

Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan, Cincinnati, Ohio 45219. Tel: (513) 751-2636.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd., Toledo, Ohio 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

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Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 5504 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419.

State College: YSA, c/o Joe Morgan, 404 S. Burrows St., State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9916.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881. Tel: (401) 783-1254.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr., Austin, Tex. 78752.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2215 Cedar Crest, Dallas, Tex. 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684.

Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: SWP, 1317 Castrovilla Rd., San Antonio, Tex. 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta., San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.: Adams-Morgan: SWP, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706.

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WASHINGTON: Seattle, Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

Seattle, North End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

Seattle: City-wide SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 524-6670.

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Tacoma: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1022 S. J St., Tacoma, Wash. 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 251-1591.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.

Gov't steps up drive against abortion

By Gale Shangold

The Supreme Court and U.S. Senate joined forces June 29 in further moves to deny women on Medicaid the right to obtain abortions.

With the aid of liberal Democrats, the Senate voted to cut off Medicaid funds for all abortions except when the mother's life is endangered, in cases of rape or incest, or when "medically necessary." The Senate bill is a modi-

Then, on June 29, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Federal Judge John Dooling, who had ruled that the 1976 Hyde amendment violated the Constitution, to reconsider his injunction.

The Supreme Court order does not take effect for twenty-five days. But after that, Black women, teen-agers, women on welfare, and the unemployed may be forced to return to the nightmare of back-alley abortions.

Five deaths per week

The July 5 *New York Times* presented the grim statistics of what that nightmare will mean. Without funds for safe, legal abortions, an estimated 850 women nationally will seek out illegal abortions each week. Eighty-five of them will be hospitalized with resulting injuries. Five will die from botched abortions every seven days.

One-third of all abortions performed in this country are currently paid for by Medicaid. But the anti-abortion offensive of the courts and Congress

poses a threat to every woman's right to choose.

This was made clear when the Supreme Court decided on June 20 that states do not have to pay Medicaid for abortions. The court went so far as to rule that public hospitals cannot be required to perform abortions, because the state has "a valid and important interest in encouraging childbirth."

The court has now ordered Judge Dooling to reconsider his injunction against the Hyde amendment in light of this June 20 ruling. If Dooling does not reimpose his ban on the Hyde amendment, the injunction will be dissolved, according to the American Civil Liberties Union. Several abortion-rights groups plan to petition Dooling for a new injunction. But even if he grants one, the Supreme Court could overturn his ruling at a later time.

In the meantime, Carter-appointee Joseph Califano, who heads the Department of Health, Education and

Welfare, says his offices are "ready to implement" the Hyde amendment, but are "still legally prohibited from doing so" because the injunction remains "technically in effect."

Some states halt abortions

HEW is continuing to fund abortions where states request the funds. But several states and cities have already begun to halt Medicaid-funded abortions in light of the Supreme Court ruling.

In St. Louis, Mayor James Conway has prohibited all elective abortions in city hospitals—even if the women can pay.

North Dakota has ceased providing funds for any abortions, except those to save the woman's life.

In Connecticut a woman must now obtain a doctor's certificate proving medical necessity before the state will pay for her abortion.

Legal maneuvers are under way in

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Militant/David Frankel

An editorial on the new abortion attacks appears on page 10.

fied version of the Hyde amendment passed by the House of Representatives June 17.

In the fall of 1976, Congress approved a similar Hyde amendment. But lawsuits succeeded in obtaining an injunction against the amendment, permitting poor women to continue to exercise their legal right to abortion.

'They're forcing us into back-alley abortions'

By Janice Lynn

LOS ANGELES—"Women must control our fate, not the church and not the state," chanted 100 demonstrators outside the federal building here June 28.

The emergency picket line, called by the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women, protested the June 20 Supreme Court decision that states do not have to provide Medicaid funds for abortion. The demonstrators also urged Congress to defeat the Hyde amendment, which would cut off federal funds for abortion.

At a brief rally following the protest, Gloria Allred, L.A. NOW chapter coordinator, explained that the anti-abortion, antigay, and anti-ERA groups have joined together in a campaign to roll back women's rights.

"Black women and Chicanas would be affected most by passage of the Hyde amendment, forcing us to resort to murderous back-alley abortions," said Virginia Garza of the Minority Women's Task Force of L.A. NOW. "This attack paves the way for more bills banning all women's right to abortion."

By Lea Bockman

ATLANTA—An abortion rights picket line was held here June 22 in front of the regional office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Seventy-five persons participated, chanting, "Abortion is a right, not a privilege," "Keep abortion safe and legal," and "No ban on Medicaid for abortion."

The action was called by an ad hoc coalition of women's and civil rights organizations, including the National Organization for Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Georgia Abortion Rights Action League, Georgia State Women's Coalition, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The protest received coverage by all the major TV and radio stations and in the newspapers.

By Betsy McDonald

TUCSON, Ariz.—Forty-five people turned out on one day's notice for a June 21 picket line and news conference in defense of abortion rights. The action was sponsored by the Coalition for the Right to Choose.

Speakers included representatives from the National Organization for Women, Southern Arizona American Civil Liberties Union, Planned Parenthood, and Feminists United for Action.

One hundred fifty demonstrated for legal abortion in Cleveland June 24. Other protests took place in Phoenix, Tallahassee, and New York City.